





Class 174

Book 174









# ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

## SOCIETY SONS OF THE REVOLUTION

IN THE STATE OF MISSOURI,

AT THEIR

Annual Meeting, February 22, 1895,

AT ST. LOUIS, MO.,

BY

RT. REV. DANIEL SYLVESTER TUTTLE, D. D., S. T. D.,

(BISHOP OF MISSOURI,)

*President of the Society Sons of the Revolution in the  
State of Missouri.*

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## WASHINGTON AND THE UNION.

FELLOW countrymen! brother Americans! I ask of you to rest your thoughts awhile upon Washington, and particularly upon Washington as he stood connected with our American Union.

Let us first recall briefly the marked facts of Washington's life.

He was born in Virginia, on this day, in the year of 1732. Before he was twelve years old his father died. Though his father was wealthy and a large property was left to his mother, yet he was not sent to England, according to the custom of the wealthy Virginians, to be liberally educated. A plain, practical education fitting for business seems to have been all that he attained. A favorite branch of study with him was surveying. When only sixteen years old he took full charge of a survey of Fairfax's extended estate. Much of this survey was over what is now the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah. For three years he continued this work of a surveyor. In these three years of his young life his physical endurance was well tested, his powers of observation quickened, his self-reliance strengthened, his patience and perseverance tried and found true, his resources under difficulties developed, and useful knowledge about forests and the Indians inhabiting them acquired.

In 1751 troubles arose between the French and English settlers about Western lands,—the Ohio grants. Virginia, to be ready for hostilities, was divided into military districts. In one of these districts Washington, a youth of nineteen, through the influence of his brother Laurence, was made adjutant-general with the rank of major. Laurence Washington was a man of culture and influence, the owner of an estate on the banks of the Potomac which he called Mount Vernon after the British Admiral Vernon, under whom he had served in the Spanish war. In

June, 1752, the brothers Laurence and George took a trip to Barbadoes in the West Indies for the benefit of the health of Laurence. This is the only time that George Washington ever set foot off the shores of his native America. The trip did Laurence little good. He died that year leaving George the guardian and eventual inheritor of Mount Vernon. Thus at twenty years of age Washington was manager of a large estate on the banks of the Potomac, and adjutant-general in organizing and equipping the militia in a district of Virginia. Both of these pursuits were much to his taste. From a school-boy he had a passion for arms. A fondness for farming he always showed. With the help of two old soldiers of the Spanish war he acquired knowledge and practice of the manual of arms, and of some evolutions in the field. The differences between the French and English settlers concerning the land along the Ohio being still in agitation, the Governor of Virginia sought for a fit man whom he could send on special embassy to the French Commander. The man must be strong; for 600 miles through the wilderness were to be traversed,—and that too in the depth of winter. He must be brave; for this wilderness was full of savages, and he was to go without a military escort, indeed, almost alone. He must be wise; for his diplomacy and tact were to be pitted against the wiles of Frenchmen and the cunning of Indians. Major Washington, twenty-one years old, was the strong, brave, wise man chosen for this duty; and his duty he performed faithfully and successfully during the winter months of 1753. From this time Washington was a marked man. Hostilities between the French and English commencing, Virginia raised a regiment of troops in which Washington was appointed Lt.-Colonel. Soon after, by the death of the Colonel, he became, at twenty-three years of age, Colonel commanding the forces raised. In this, his first campaign, Col. Washington met with reverses as well as successes. He was compelled to give up to the French, on terms of capitulation, a fort in which he was entrenched. In the war ensuing, known as the “seven years’ war,” and terminated after the victory of Wolfe at Quebec, Washington was more or less actively engaged;—as volunteer on Gen. Braddock’s staff,—as adjutant-general raising troops and putting them into the field,—and as Commander-in-Chief of Virginia’s forces.

Looking over the history of these seven years, we are struck with the admirable training which they gave him in preparation for his future duties and trials. Having resigned his colonelcy from a high toned sense of honor,—because provincial officers bearing the Governor's commission were rated inferior to regular officers bearing the King's commission, and because he would not serve under a junior in rank,—it was as a volunteer that he accompanied Braddock's disastrous expedition, a volunteer on the General's staff, paying out of his own pocket for his horses and equipments.

So situated he learned valuable lessons in this expedition. It was to him what we might now call a West Point education. General Braddock, whatever his faults, was brave in danger, thorough in discipline, systematic and orderly in his plans and their execution, and accomplished in all the military knowledge of a regularly educated and experienced British officer. On his staff, Col. Washington had opportunity to see in perfection, what he had never seen before, the appointments, management, and actions of a force of regular soldiers. His sagacity studied, and noted for future use and guidance,—in the camp, the details and tactics of regular military discipline,—on the march, the best ways of conducting forward and retreating movements,—on the field, the most efficient mode of disposing and handling large bodies of men in evolution. No little, too, did he learn from actual experience on the battle field, where his coat was riddled with balls and two horses were shot under him; and, where, on the occasion of Braddock's defeat, his chief and brother aids being struck down, he alone was left to evoke order out of confusion and to save from utter ruin the fortunes of the day.

As adjutant-general, charged with the duty of raising and equipping the militia of Virginia, he found it difficult to get troops. Then it was hard for him to secure from the dilatory Legislature the necessary appropriations for equipment and pay. Then it was harder for him to introduce among the troops submission to discipline, necessary to efficiency. The notion of war which they liked and meant to follow was on this wise;—that they must select for themselves the officers under whom they would serve; they must choose for themselves what orders were wise and right and ought to be obeyed; they must decide for

themselves when it would be well for them to throw up their fighting and go home to their plowing. If in the field with them in the face of danger he found it hardest of all to secure order and method, or to prevent his armed yeomanry from choosing their own places and following their own ways, that each one might fight as he wished and run when he wanted to.

As Commander-in-Chief of the forces raised, troubles too were his. If any officers under him chanced to hold a royal commission, they were insubordinate and insolent. A medley of ambiguous and contradictory orders poured in upon him from the Governor. Maryland and Pennsylvania and North Carolina were jealous of Virginia, and whenever any troops from these colonies were under him they gave him trouble. And while for all these reasons his power was restricted, he was vexed to know that he would be held responsible for results, however bad, of such an unsatisfactory state of things.

I have called special attention to these seven years, for they were Washington's schooling time. Acquaintance with actual war, its ways, its wants, and its reverses; struggles against difficulties, patience under them, perseverance in spite of them; and experience of the evils of want of discipline in troops, and of the greater evils of want of unity and brotherhood in colonies,—trained and fitted the Col. Washington of twenty-five years of age to be the General Washington and President Washington of after time.

In 1759 Washington married Mrs. Martha Custis, widow of John Parke Custis, Esq., and retired to Mount Vernon. Here in comparative retirement he remained for fifteen years, giving care to the cultivation of his extensive lands. In comparative retirement, I say, for during this time he was a member of the House of Burgesses, or Legislature, of Virginia and attended its sittings. Seldom or never did he rise on the floor of the House to speak. He was no orator. When first taking his seat, by vote of the House, thanks were returned to him for his military services to Virginia. In rising to reply, Washington blushed, stammered, stumbled, and was obliged to sit down in confusion. Washington was a wise and influential legislator because of his good sense, sagacity, sound judgment and dispassionate wisdom, but was no orator. Nor needed that Legislature oratory from him. By his

side sat Patrick Henry to supply all such need, one of the most wonderful and effective orators that the world ever heard.

Perhaps, in deliberative assemblies nowadays, if some of us would be content to cultivate and exercise the good sense which, it may be, is in us, after the example of Washington, and not painfully strain after the eloquence of a Patrick Henry, which certainly isn't in us—perhaps we would be of no less value to the community, and contribute quite as much to the promptness and wisdom of deliberated results.

In 1774 the colonies began their concerted struggles against Great Britain; not yet for independence, for the journal of the first Continental Congress closes with this fervent declaration,—“That your Majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and your dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer;” nor yet against present felt oppression, for the trifling import tax of three pence per pound on tea, all the others being repealed, could not be counted burdensome;—but for the steady assertion and sturdy maintenance and demanded recognition of the principle that there should be “no taxation without representation.”

The first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774, and sat with closed doors for more than fifty days. Washington and Patrick Henry were among the delegates from Virginia. When the latter was asked who was the greatest man in that body, he modestly replied,—“If you speak of eloquence in debate, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina;” and then added,—“If you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Col. Washington was unquestionably the greatest man on that floor.”

The second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, May 10th, 1775. Washington took his seat in this Congress also, but was not allowed to remain in it long. Blood had been shed at Lexington and Concord, and armed resistance must be organized. In June he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the colonial forces raised and to be raised. He immediately left for Boston to assume actual command, arriving there shortly after the battle of Bunker Hill. Nor yet was the war for nationality. It is a whole

year yet before Jefferson prepares, and the members of this second Congress sign, the memorable Declaration of Independence. The two armies are not yet called British and American, but Ministerial and Continental.

I do not propose to follow the history of Washington's career throughout the War of the Revolution. In June, 1775, he received his commission as Commander-in-Chief from Congress at Philadelphia. In December, 1783, he resigned the same into the hands of Congress at Annapolis. For eight and a half years his was the most trying and responsible position in America. Having escaped from it, he welcomed six years of tranquil, happy life at Mount Vernon. In 1789 he was drawn again from his home to become the first President of the United States. In this capacity he served his country wisely and well for eight years.

Then eagerly he returned once more to the quiet life of his loved Mount Vernon. God spared him to his home and to his countrymen for two years, and then, just as the eighteenth century was dying out of the present into the past, He took him,—our Washington,—unto Himself,—who doubts it,—“the greatest of good men, and the best of great men,” we humbly and earnestly believe.

May I now call your attention to the American Union, and to the fact that we owe its existence, its strength, its manifold blessings, under God, to Washington?

I beg you to remember that when our Declaration of Independence was made, it issued from the representatives not of one American people, but of thirteen distinct colonies; when our war of Independence was fought, it was fought not by united Americans, but by English colonists, and Dutch colonists, and Swedish colonists, and German colonists, joining themselves together with the one purpose, to be free from the odious tyranny of Great Britain.

When our Independence was achieved, there was no one American Government ready to receive the heritage and retain it and transmit it, but, instead, thirteen sovereign and independent States, no longer compelled to work together, and ready, now that the pressure of war with a foreign foe was removed, to part asunder under the centrifugal forces of local prejudices, diverse habits and clashing interests. By whom, under whose influence,

then, were we changed and made one American people? I answer, by and under no one man so much as Washington.

By circumstances, character, and abilities, Washington was eminently fitted to be the founder of our Union. He was native born, and had but once, and then only for a few weeks, left the shores of the American Continent. He was strong in body, noble in person, courteous in manners. He was a good business man, and it is wonderful to note how minutely and thoroughly, by an uninterrupted weekly correspondence with his Superintendent, he maintained personal management of his farm and estate throughout the whole Revolutionary war. He was a rich man; possessed after his marriage with Mrs. Custis, of one of the most ample fortunes in Virginia. For his services as General in the Revolution he would not accept one cent of pay, but called only for the reimbursement of the 14,500 pounds which he had actually expended for the cause out of his own private funds. He was eminently wise; not coldly and narrowly wise for himself merely, but calmly, thoughtfully wise for his country, for others, and for himself. His comprehension of contingencies, his sagacity of judgment, his discretion in words and acts, and his earnest diligence to acquaint himself honestly with the merits of both sides of every question, were rare indeed. Above all he was a man good and true; unflinching in rectitude, unswerving in integrity, firm in the right, faithful to duty; conscientiously alive to the rights of others, earnestly prayerful to God to guide and sustain him in ways acceptable in His sight.

Rare elements are these which have been enumerated to meet in one man. But they did meet,—strength, riches, business qualifications, moderation, firmness, wisdom, conscientiousness, goodness,—in Washington; and they gave him power and influence, and fitted him for the great work of changing revolted, segregated colonists into a united American people.

Thus fitted for the good work was Washington the man. It now behooves me to show, as briefly as I may, how Washington the soldier and Washington the statesman wrought the good work.

The military troubles and triumphs of Washington for the eight-and-a-half years in which he was Commander-in-Chief of our armies I am not about to enumerate. Of brilliant victories

in the field his career was very bare. I can call to mind but two, the battle of Trenton and the siege of Yorktown. But when I know that as a Southern Commander the Northern troops were naturally disinclined to serve under him; that the soldiers assigned him were raw and undisciplined, hoping and expecting to get home next week or next month to their plows and firesides; that able officers like Lee and Gates were selfish and only half patriotic; while patriotic officers like Ethan Allen and Putman were rash and wrongheaded; that he was without powder from the start, and scarce ever could secure a well ordered commissariat; that in the winters at Valley Forge and Morristown officers and soldiers were starved and shoeless; that State Legislatures in their insane jealousies would not furnish him needful forces and supplies; and that, because of his caution and his firm resistance, notwithstanding loud clamours, to all temptations to embark in rash, wild ventures, he was derided on the floor of Congress as a stupid, timid, weak, inefficient Fabius, and that body was at the point of superseding him by Gen. Charles Lee,—when I know this and know also that ever, through it all, that patriotic commander was firm in the right, brave in his heart, wise in his work, loyal to duty, true to his country, trustful in his God, and hopeful to the last,—then do I say that Washington triumphed gloriously as never soldier triumphed before over enemies, over circumstances, over himself, and plucked glory for himself, freedom for us, help for the world, from the very darkness of engulfing desperation.

But of Washington the soldier I meant not now to speak; only of Washington as laying the foundations for the Union in his influence and pleadings while he was a soldier.

No sooner had he taken command at Boston than he was grieved to note the prevalence of sectional jealousies. Connecticut men were unwilling to serve under officers from Massachusetts, and Massachusetts men under officers from Rhode Island. They would not enlist unless they knew their Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain. General Schuyler wrote that he had the same troubles in his camp in Northern New York.

Washington had no sympathy with these sectional feelings. He wanted to be, and strove from the first to be, Commander of all the forces of and for *one* country. Bear with me while I



quote from his own letters of this period. Early in 1776 in a letter to Schuyler he says: "I must entreat your attention to do away the unhappy and pernicious distinctions and jealousies between the troops of different governments," (meaning the different colonies). "Enjoin this upon the officers, and let them inculcate and press home to the soldiery, the necessity of order and harmony among those who are embarked in one common cause, and are mutually contending for all that free men hold dear." In a general order of the same year he says, "It is with great concern that the General understands that jealousies have arisen among the troops from the different provinces; and that reflections are frequently thrown out which can only tend to irritate each other and injure the noble cause in which we are engaged, and which we ought to support with one hand and one heart. The General most earnestly entreats the officers and soldiers to consider the consequences; that they can no way assist our enemies more effectually than by making divisions among ourselves; that the honor and success of the army and the safety of our bleeding country depend upon harmony and good agreement with each other; that the provinces are all united to oppose the common enemy, and all distinctions sunk in the name of an American. To make this name honorable and to preserve the liberty of our country ought to be our only emulation; and he will be the best soldier and the best patriot who contributes most to this glorious work, whatever be his station, or from whatever part of the Continent he may come."

In 1780 he writes to a member of Congress, "Certain I am, unless Congress speak in a more decisive tone, unless they are vested with power by the several States, competent to the purposes of war, or assume them as matters of right, and they and the States respectively act with more energy than they have hitherto done, that our cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill-timing the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expenses, and derive no benefit from them. One State will comply with a requisition of Congress; another neglects to do it; a third executes it by halves; and all differ either in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time, that we are always working up-hill; and while such a system as the present

one, or rather want of one, prevails, we shall ever be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen, I see one army branching into thirteen, which, instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States, are considering themselves dependent on their respective States. In a word I see the power of Congress declining too fast for the consideration and respect which are due to them as the great representative body of America, and I am fearful of the consequences."

Again, in 1783, just before the dissolution of the army, he writes to the Governors of the several States, "This is the time of the political probation of the citizens of America. This is the moment when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them; this is the moment to establish or ruin their national character forever. This is the favorable moment to give such a tone to the Federal Government as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the Confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one State against another to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes." He appends what he considers the four essentials to the well being, and even the existence, of the United States as an independent power. These are three of his essentials. "1. An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head, and a perfect acquiescence of the several States in the full exercise of the prerogative lawfully vested in such a head. 2. A sacred regard to public justice in discharging debts and fulfilling contracts made by Congress for the purpose of carrying on the war. 3. A disposition among the people of the United States to forget local prejudices and policies; to make mutual concessions, and to sacrifice individual advantages to the interests of the community."

So did Washington while a soldier, by the influence of his acts, by the appeals of his pen, and in the fervency of his heart, plead for harmony between the people and for a union of all the States in one nation.

The war closed. Washington might have been a king. The army would have made him so at his will. But, instead, after a farewell address to his soldiers containing an earnest exhortation to

them to maintain their attachment to the Union, and a silent, tearful leave of his officers, he retired in eagerness to Mount Vernon, presenting the sublime and unwonted spectacle of the victorious Commander of a devoted army, whose efforts had given a nation existence, voluntarily putting off power and honors and glad to serve his God and obey the laws as a diligent farmer and peaceful, private citizen.

When the war was over thirteen United States had achieved their freedom. But were they one people? By no means. They were rather a weak, allied congeries of so many individual sovereignties, without fusion or organization into one strong nationality. In 1778, during the war, these thirteen States had entered into a Confederation. But the Second of their Article of Confederation was this: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." Such a Confederacy was not a nation. It was merely a contrived apposition of segregated units. When the constraining outer pressure of the war was removed, wise men saw no power of coherence in the Confederation, and wise men foresaw in the clear light of experience of human nature that the power of diverse habits and local interests would soon embroil these sovereign States in jealousies, dissensions, animosities, and wars.

Washington, the statesman, observed this condition of things. Wise warnings of the coming storm issued from Mount Vernon. In 1786, three years after his retirement, he writes: "We have errors to correct. We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our Confederation. Experience has taught us that men will not adopt and carry into execution measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of coercive power. I do not conceive that we can exist long as a nation without lodging, somewhere, a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State Governments extends over the several States."

And again, shortly after: "The consequences of a lax or inefficient government are too obvious to be dwelt upon. Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at

the federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole; whereas, a liberal and energetic constitution, well checked and well watched to prevent encroachments, might restore us to that degree of respectability and consequence to which we had the fairest prospect of attaining."

Thank God, wise and good men were not wanting among our fathers of those days. These met in convention in Philadelphia in 1787, and ordained and established, not as the representatives of the States merely, but more as the representatives of the people of the United States, our present Constitution, the Magna Charta of our liberties, the vital strength and stable safeguard of our National Union. Of this Convention Washington was chosen President. And who doubts that his wisdom and moderation, his wide influence, and deference to his known views guided under God, the work of that body and secured the auspicious result?

The convention sat four months. The magnitude and difficulty of the work they accomplished can hardly be overestimated. Northern claims and Southern claims, producers' wants and consumers' wants, agricultural interests and manufacturing interests and commercial interests, pro-slavery prejudices and anti-slavery prejudices, the rights of large States and the rights of small States,—had all to be satisfied, or at least harmonized. A greater work than theirs and better done, I think the world has never seen. I am amazed at their triumphant success. I thank God for our wise and good constitution. If we should ever dare to violate it and break in pieces its blessed covenants, casting them to the sweeping winds of higher law and the roaring storms of modern progress, I count him a hopeless fool who thinks that we, by calling ourselves wiser men, can, in the passions and prejudices and temptations and selfishnesses of to-day, meet and adjust and adopt a better constitution than that well tried one, born of the four months' hard labor of 1787.

Under the eye and help of Washington, the statesman, was the Constitution formed. Through his influence, more than of any other man, it was adopted and became the organic life of the nation. Signally, in this work did he help to found the Union and launch it steadily forth for a strong, and God grant, a long, voyage among the community of nations. In announcing to the

President of Congress the result of the deliberations of the convention, he says: "It is obviously impracticable in the Federal governments of these States to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be attained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests. In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected: and thus the constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity, and of mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

Under this Constitution on April 30, 1789, Washington became President. There was much risk to the life of the Union in the distractions and doubts and inexperience of the times; in the bitter controversies between the Federalists led by Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, and the Republicans or Democrats led by Jefferson, Secretary of State; but Washington, by staying at the helm for eight years, by rigidly obeying the Constitution, by moderating the extreme heats of party faction, by allaying prejudices and inspiring confidence, bore the nation safely through. To him is due the bringing of all the parts of the new system into harmonious working order. So in act and practice was the Union his child. He loved it as a child. In his farewell address in 1797, he earnestly pleads with his countrymen to love, nourish, support, maintain the Union.

Therefore, ever, when Washington is recalled to the memory, that the thoughts may yield him homage and the heart may give him love, let him be to us not only Washington, the man, the

general, the President, but Washington, the father of his country, the author of our American Union.

Fellow countrymen, fellow members of the "Sons of the Revolution," the sword in our fathers' hands won for us freedom. Then their wisdom, forbearance, patriotism and love established it under the Constitution and provided for its perpetuation and its protection by the Union. And the chieftain, whose name and birthday we are met to honor, was alike their brave leader in war and their wise and trusted guide in peace. The panorama of the world's history presents us with the figure of no man who did the double duty better.

The love in our hearts and the gratitude in our thoughts for Washington are warm almost to burning. Honest pride in our forefathers who served under him swells the breast and quickens the flow of the blood. Renew, we want to, our fealty at the shrine of this day's memories. And we count ourselves unworthy sons of worthy sires if ours be not a steady course of unselfish, unwavering, patriotic devotion to the flag of our country,—to the Union which Washington mightily helped to make, and quite as mightily helped to preserve and perpetuate.

# ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

## Society Sons of the Revolution

IN THE STATE OF MISSOURI,

AT THEIR

Annual Meeting, February 22, 1895,

MERCANTILE CLUB HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

ALSO AT THE

Annual Banquet of the Kansas City Chapter,

COATES HOUSE, KANSAS CITY, MO.,

OCTOBER 19, 1895,

BY

Right Rev. DANIEL SYLVESTER TUTTLE, D. D., S. T. D.,

Hon. TRUMAN AUGUSTUS POST,

Hon. JOSEPH VAN CLIEF KARNES,

Hon. HENRY HITCHCOCK,

Hon. EDWARD HERRICK ALLEN,

Rev. HENRY HOPKINS, D. D.,

Hon. JAMES LAWRENCE BLAIR.

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# ADDRESSES

DELIVERED AT THE

BANQUET,

MERCANTILE CLUB HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.,

FEBRUARY 22, 1895.

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## BISHOP TUTTLE.

*Fellow members of the Missouri Society of the Sons of the Revolution:*

It is with great pleasure that I extend to you the greetings of welcome to-night. From a little one our Society has grown to be quite an army. Among the youngest of the State Societies though we be, we yet already number one hundred and fifty-nine members.

There is pride in our hearts, and we have no open ears to-night for the words which are sometimes bandied about touching "poor old Missouri."

For that matter, Missouri anyway has no call to be ashamed of her past record. To instance only one historical name, Thomas H. Benton, her distinguished and most influential representative in the United States Senate for thirty years, the sagacious prophet to foresee the building of a railroad across the Continent, the father of the homestead law, and the steady supporter in the days of doubt and hesitancy, of the principles of honest money and sound finance, 'till "Old Bullion" was fastened upon him as an appellation,—his name alone is enough to shed lustre upon our Commonwealth, and to give her a place of no mean rank among her sister States.

The day on which we meet is one, I am sure, to send a thrill of patriotic affection to the heart of every Son among us. No words of mine are needed to awaken in you the grateful love and profound reverence with which we are always wont to hail the

birthday of the Father of Our Country. May I be permitted to point your attention to a picture of Washington, kindly loaned to us for this evening, and placed on the wall before you? It is one of the original portraits painted by Gilbert Stuart.

There is the immortal hatchet, too, near. Keen, analytical scrutiny of historical incidents is taking too much the line of a stupid murdering of the innocent children of our memory and our imagination. Join me, dear friends, in believing still that Tell shot the apple from the head of his son, and that the truthful, manly little man with his little axe hacked the cherry tree in the Virginia orchard.

The flag—our flag—a thing of beauty and grace and power, is fixed before us to-night. Its greetings to hearts which honor and love it are more eloquent than words can tell. With its beautiful, unchanging stripes, and with its stars, ever increasing in number and glory—Utah, my old home, is soon to be the forty-fifth—it seems to say: “Sons of the Revolution, your fathers fought to give me being. I ask you to live and strive, if need be to fight and die, that I, unchanged and unstained, never lowered and never dishonored, may continue to float in glad pride over the country which I am set to honor, and which you are bound to love.”

Hearken, brothers mine, to what the flag says. There is inspiration in the utterance. God help us. I speak for your hearts and mine. We want to live for the right and true, to help make America noble and great. And, by the memory of our fathers, by the teachings of the day, by the pleadings of the flag, we want all our hearts to beat full with patriotic devotion, loyalty and love, till the final rest comes to close the floodgates of earthly life.

## **HON. TRUMAN AUGUSTUS POST.**

### **“THE REVOLUTION: A REBELLION AGAINST TYRANNY.”**

The lad in the cock loft of the old Bowery theatre, who profanely told his chum to “quit munchin peanuts and listen at Forrest give them tyrants h—ll!” had a patriotism about as lofty and

a conception of democracy about as well defined, if not as elegantly expressed, as many of the youth who are taking lessons in Fourth of July statesmanship.

The Irishman just landed was a trifle more specific in declaring his simple platform as "*furninst* the government." According to his idea, pretty much any government stood for tyranny and ought to be abolished.

In the municipal "unpleasantness" of 1877, when Mayor Overstolz was waited upon by sundry representative citizens, a well-known and estimable German of the radical and metaphysical school "came also among them"; and after the assembly had warmed up and views on the situation had been exchanged with much freedom and emphasis, and some anathemas on the Fabian policy of "his Honor," he solemnly arose, and with one hand beneath the tail of his coat and the other extended toward the chief executive of our city, delivered his oracle as follows: "Mr. Mayor! This is not a strike. This is not a mob. This is not a riot. It is—it is—a *revolution*." To his aged vision the outbreak was a joyous awakening in these latter days and occidental parts of the spirit of '49 in the Vaterland. The old soldier was ready, like Simeon, to take up his *nunc dimittis*; for he had seen the "salvation of God."

To men of his type there is something sacred in the right of revolution *per se*, pure and simple. Revolution is hailed as an end to be sought—a "consummation devoutly to be wished," regardless of any question of motives or causes or probable results.

I believe, Mr. President, that a prominent object to be gained by the Sons of the Revolution should be an education, out of all these crass and crazy notions of popular rights, whether they be the protoplasmic conceptions of the Bowery boy or the owl-like wisdom of the Radical theorist, into a true understanding of American liberty as handed down by our Fathers.

The "right of revolution," as popularly understood, is one always reserved to the people—never surrendered by any written constitutions, but attached to and qualifying them all, like an unwritten bill of rights, under which the people may at any time cast off the existing government, as a serpent molts his skin.

For one, Mr. President, I do not believe such a doctrine, and do not believe our Fathers ever taught it.

In a general way, it is true that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." And if those who exercise the right of revolution comprise the entire population, they might, if such a thing were conceivable, get together, as some one has described it, on a vast plain, and there in mass meeting vote to do away with statutes and constitutions—for that matter with any sort of government. If the vote were unanimous, who shall question it? All have sanctioned the movement, and none can complain. Society, like an individual, may commit suicide. It may go back to its elemental germs. But, if the question be taken out of nebulous theories into practical statesmanship, the case supposed is simply not supposable. A revolution always implies opposition; one party or faction, however great, downs another, however small. And a "consent of the governed," in which all unite and all are bound, is practically impossible.

The right of revolution must always be invoked *by some party or faction* and your radical theorist must hold that the question whether the revolution is right or wrong is one to be settled absolutely and unalterably by the majority. *Vox populi vox Dei.* "The king can do no wrong;" and when the *fiat* of the people in its majesty, that is, in the expressed will of its majority, goes forth, it is final and infallible as that of the Pope.

Practically understood consent of the government is never a consent of the whole people, but is confined to that of a dominant party; and it is a melancholy lesson of the past that no infallibility is to be attached to the utterance of any party or faction however mighty. We Americans are not living in Utopia and dreaming of a perfect commonwealth, but dealing with a very peccable humanity. It is a fact which no one who has not read history upside down will question, that parties, like individuals, may blunder and sin. Whig and Tory, Girondin and Jacobin, Democrat, Federal and Republican—the most potent and famous organizations of the past and of the present—have committed follies. Some of them have been guilty of crimes such as to "make angels weep."

A frequent rotation in political control is essential to health in

the body politic, as the double circulation of blood is in our human anatomy ; and often times the greater the ascendancy of a party, the wilder its blunders, the worse its crimes ; hard after victory follow edicts of proscription and banishment, and star-chamber sentences — acts which lend color to Orville Dewey's sneering paraphrase of “ *Vox populi vox Diaboli.*”

If the *vox populi* is indeed the *vox Dei*—the oracle which cannot err, it is not the voice of a particular faction in the midst of strife, nor is it that of a single section, or generation of men. Its refrain comes also from mankind in other lands outside of the din of the struggle, and from the calmer atmosphere of after times.

When the babel of factions has died away and the Macaulays of history take up the argument before that calm and silent majority which is to render the verdict, the fact that the masses were enlisted in the cause of a particular rebellion will not by any means determine its merits. Other factors will enter the problem. Two or three only can be referred to here.

One pivotal question will be what promise the insurrection gives of *stable and permanent order.*

It will certainly begin *by taking away an existing government.*

And measure, if you can, the condition of a country left for the time without any government.

The maxim sounds like a blundering paradox which declares it “better that laws should be stable than wise” ; for stability in laws is itself of the very essence of wisdom. Laws which are constantly changing, like the shifting sands of the Missouri, hardly deserve the name. Fancy a state of society where earthquakes and revolutions, popular upheavals, with kings and queens on the “skedaddle,” are looked forward to almost as a matter of course. Estimate, if you can, the value of corner lots and bank stocks and the damages for the taking of life or restraint of liberty in such a community.

In Anglo-Saxon countries we have trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, a penal code—bulwarks for ages set up in defense of person and estate. Think of the tremendous meaning of these safeguards and then of a community in which they have been brushed away like a cobweb.

Even despotism means some sort of police, some sort of courts—though bad as Jeffrey's—for defense of life and property; better a Nero in Rome, or a Nicholas in Warsaw, than ochlocracy. Better the legions of Pompey than the ruffian clans of Milo and Clodius. Society *must* sooner or later have a permanent government. The people will after a while grow weary of the constant unrest and fever of strife, and, if peace and good order are not otherwise secured will hail as a relief the appearance of the "man on horseback"—coming, as he surely will come at last, like the *deus ex machina* in the play, to solve the dilemma.

Society must have order of some sort; it is "Heaven's first law," and the revolution must give pledges, or at least the hope, that order in some substantial form shall emerge from the general cataclysm.

Another question which the insurrection must answer is: *What guaranty does it offer of equal rights to all citizens?*

The main spring of rebellion is too often a hatred of class or sect, which wreaks its vengeance in the hour of triumph. A kindly and catholic spirit of reform is a saving leaven in revolutions.

Causes may have justified the dethronement of the Bourbons; but the butcheries of *Place de la Concorde* have made the French Revolution eminent only in infamy.

Many other questions which challenge the march of insurrection cannot be considered in the limits of this paper.

It is enough to say generally that brave men will not "take counsel of their fears"; but if they are wise men they will not war for mere theories. They will count the evils to be remedied, the cost of the remedy, and the ground for hoping to obtain it.

Our Declaration of Independence expressly holds "that prudence will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light or transient causes," and it proceeds to specify the causes which justify revolution, namely, the destruction of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" that is, when any form of government becomes intolerably oppressive, revolution becomes necessary.

I have heard it stoutly contended by a man standing high at the St. Louis bar, that a rebellion is justified by success and

dannned by failure ; that our own of '76 is glorified not by any special merit, but by the oriflame of victory. Against this assertion I protested at the time and now enter a most emphatic protest.

The colonies in that war were eternally right or eternally wrong, regardless of the outcome. The wager of battle simply settled the question between Great Britain and her colonies as to which had the better soldiers, not as to which had the better cause. The merits of the controversy were ripe for adjudication before the first shot was fired at Lexington. And subsequent events could not alter the verdict.

The main question at issue, as you know, was whether the colonies should submit to taxation without representation. And the question was a big one.

The tax of threepence on tea at first thought seems a trifle, and the squabble in Boston Harbor a sort of tempest in a teapot. How, you are asked, does such a war compare in merit and dignity with one provoked by pangs of the Inquisition and the martyr's faggot?

But study the question a little more closely. After all, are not the most dangerous assaults on the body politic those stealthy encroachments which are hardly felt, which kill by inches, and in their effects reach the whole community? Some wrongs are so high-handed and outrageous that the danger is apparent and timely warning is given. Their very atrocity is their preventive. But an arbitrary tax on one article in the hands of a single citizen hardly touches the pocket; and he who thinks only for himself and for to-day will consult his ease by paying it. But measure the tax by the number of those whom it affects throughout the country and by the continuance of the tax in future years, and the precedent established for the imposition of other and greater taxes, and see how the question expands! The tax on tea, or stamped paper, was nothing. But it conveyed the right to take away every dollar of the citizen and to destroy the prosperity of the country.

“What one character of liberty,” said Edmund Burke, “have the Americans, and *what one brand of slavery are they free from*, if they are bound in their property and industry by all the restraints you can imagine on commerce, and are at the same time made the pack-horses of every tax you choose to impose, without

the least share in granting them?" Under such a system they "could have *no sort of security for their liberties or any part of them.*"

Said the elder Pitt: "The Commons in America, represented in their assemblies, have invariably exercised the constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. *They would have been slaves if they had not.*"

Public utterances from leading statesmen of England, the most emphatic, the most conclusive, because in the nature of a confession, can be adduced without stint, declaring that to have yielded that one item of threepence on tea would have been to yield the liberties of the Colonies. It was a question of life and death to constitutional liberty in America.

Curiously enough, some of the greatest battles for liberty have been fought along these lines. You will remember that such battles are for and not against property rights; they are for conservative and not destructive principles; and the result has been that they have re-established liberty on a firmer basis.

The cause of the American Revolution was the cause of the revolution of 1640 in England. Said Burke: "The feelings of the Colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden, when called on for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! But the payment of half twenty shillings on the principle it was demanded would have made him a slave."

One of the charges in the Declaration against King George was that he had taken away the right of trial by jury, and had transported American citizens beyond the seas for pretended offenses. Read the "Act for suppressing riots in Boston." Then listen to the language of Jefferson touching that topic: "The wretched criminal, if he happen to have offended on an American side, stripped of the privileges of trial by the peers of his vicinage, removed from the place where alone full evidence could be obtained, without money, without counsel, without friends, without exculpatory proof, is tried before judges predetermined to condemn. Cowards who should suffer their countrymen to be torn from the bowels of their society in order to be offered a sacrifice to parliamentary tyranny, would merit the execrating infamy now fixed on the authors of this act."



One of the charges in the Declaration was that his Majesty had "dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions of the rights of the people."

In this respect the American Revolution was in essentials also the English Revolution of 1688. Mr. Burke said "he considered the Americans as standing at that time and in that controversy in the same relation to England as England did to James the Second in 1688. Says Jefferson: "One of the articles of impeachment against Tresilian and other judges at Westminster Hall, in the reign of Richard the Second, for which they suffered death as traitors to their country, was that they had advised their king, that he might dissolve his Parliament at any time, and succeeding kings have adopted the opinions of these unjust judges. Since the establishment of the British Constitution, however, at the Glorious Revolution, on its free and ancient principles, neither his Majesty nor his ancestors have exercised such a power of dissolution on the island of Great Britain; and when his Majesty was petitioned by the united voice of his people, there to dissolve the present Parliament, which had become obnoxious to them, his Ministers were heard to declare, in open Parliament, that his Majesty possessed no such power under the Constitution. But how different their practice here! To declare as their duty requires the known rights of the country, to oppose the usurpations of every foreign judicature, to disregard the injurious mandate of a Minister or Governor, have been the avowed causes of dissolving the Parliament in America."

The Declaration of Independence has been characterized as made up of "sounding platitudes and glittering generalities," and it has been conjectured that while in France Jefferson absorbed some of the vague and abstract theories sown by the encyclopaedists which afterwards cropped out in the French Revolution. But read the Declaration carefully and you will find that it contains not less than twenty-seven separate and sharply defined indictments against the king of Great Britain for distinct acts of usurpation and tyranny.

It closes the arraignment by declaring that King George has "plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people,"—an accusation which bunches

together in one sentence the blackest crimes of despotism.

The Colonies were a thoroughly loyal people. They were loyal to the mother country while loyalty was possible and long after it had ceased to be a virtue. At the outset they hardly dreamed of independence. They repeatedly petitioned the English Crown and people for redress. Before independence was declared the oppressions had continued through ten miserable years, commencing with the insidious encroachments of tyranny, and culminating in the ravages of war.

They did not declare their independence when the stamp act was passed ; not when their commerce was crippled ; not when Boston Harbor was closed ; not when Falmouth was shelled ; not until their towns had been laid in ashes, and the blood of their countrymen had dyed the field of Lexington.

In closing, let me give you a sentiment in line with the leading thought of this response and with the spirit of Bunker Hill and Valley Forge:

Among the mementos and trophies which adorn the walls of Mount Vernon is an old sword in its scabbard, presented by Washington to some one whose name has escaped me. But the language of the gift, written on a paper attached to the weapon, will not fade from memory. It is nearly as follows : "This sword is given with the injunction that it shall never be drawn save in the defense of country and having once been drawn it shall *never* be sheathed till her rights have been secured."

## HON. JOSEPH VAN CLIEF KARNES.

### "THE REVOLUTION: A PRELUDE TO FREEDOM."

The subject assigned me is exceedingly rich in meaning, and invites attention to the distinguishing features of great movements that have taken place, and the results that have followed after them.

The development and growth of the world's civilization has not been steady and onward, but has rather been a series of epochs, each possessing its own special characteristics. History shows that certain periods and events have been pivotal, and that

oftentimes upon the decision of an hour, the result of a conflict, the assertion of a principle, great changes have been effected in the whole current of human affairs. It is not always easy to ascertain the forces which bring about these changed conditions, but that they exist stands as admitted facts. The urgent appeal of Miltiades to his associate commanders for an immediate attack on the Persian invader as he lay slumbering upon the plains of Marathon, at first appears no more significant than the courage and decisive action often displayed in war; while in fact the few hours thereafter determined the whole course of empire for Europe for ages to follow. This turned the tide. And at Thermopylae and Salamis was decided the crisis in the struggle between the European and the Asiatic worlds. The monument with its immortal inscription, "Go tell at Lacadaemon that we lie here in obedience to her laws," marks the spot which saved for mankind the learning and refinement of Greece, and it stamps the Spartan name with a nobility which has been an inspiration to succeeding generations.

The destruction of the Spanish Armada was much more than the result of a great naval engagement. Philip II. had planned for enlarging his empire into a universal monarchy. He was intense in his religious convictions. All Europe, except England and Holland, was at his feet. And it was his ambition to restore papal power to universal supremacy. The result of this engagement involved the two great divisions of religious thought, and forever established the protestant faith as one of the controlling religious forces of the world. Without passing upon the merits of the momentous issues at stake, it is safe to say that from this event effects were produced that will be felt as long as the Christian religion is a controlling force among men.

When the columns of Wellington and Blucher stood like a wall against the furious assaults of Napoleon and Ney, it was the cause of constitutional government against arbitrary power; and had they wavered, it would have recast the map of Europe, established new systems of laws, and deflected the entire current of the civilization of the nineteenth century. Since that memorable day, England and English policies have well nigh dominated the world.

Thus, all along the line of history, from its earliest dawn, occur these striking phenomena. The stream for a time widens and deepens, bearing upon its broad surface the richest treasures of thought and human activity, until some apparently adventitious circumstance creates a new outlet, and then the whole tide sweeps away into other channels.

Probably no other period more thoroughly emphasizes the idea I have sought to advance than that leading up to the American Revolution. The thought and action of men are largely controlled by environment, and probably never were circumstances and surroundings more favorable for the establishment of a new governmental principle than those of that time. This was really a new world, as much so for social and political experiment, as if, fresh from the creative hand, it had taken its place in the procession of worlds. Those who reached these shores naturally felt as if they had been thrown off into space, and had at last been drawn to another state of existence. Under such conditions the inclination would be to lay aside preconceived notions, to turn away from established precedents, and to erect the edifice of government on foundations of absolute right and justice. The terrors of the sea and the privations of the wilderness deterred any but the most energetic and courageous from joining in the work; and the result was, that the early settlers, whether Puritans or Quakers, Huguenots or Catholics, were distinguished for the earnestness of their convictions and their dauntless bravery. They were ever ready to meet any danger, and to resist any aggression. Lying back of this was a very strong religious feeling which made them bold in standing firm for principle. History furnishes no parallel for such opportunities for the development of new ideas in government. They were an educated, Christian class, cultivated but not to the extent of effeminaey, taught the brotherhood of man by their constant perils, far removed from the center of authority; so every impulse was to govern themselves in their own way. From the very beginning, republican ideas and feeling, transmitted from the period of the commonwealth in England, were widely diffused. The divine right of kings found but a feeble recognition. The Virginia colony early clamored for the house of burgesses chosen by the people, which was the beginning of repre

sentative government in America; and before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, they had formulated a government strictly republican.

But, notwithstanding this feeling, the final declaration of it as the correct principle of government was reluctantly made. There is an inertia of mind as well as of matter. Conservatism requires less effort than radicalism. In 1774 Washington wrote: "No such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in America." And a month before the battle of Concord, John Adams publicly declared in Boston, "that it was a slander on the province that there are any who pant for independence." And Jefferson said that "before the 19th of April, 1775, I never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain." Notwithstanding the wrongs that were being inflicted by the ministry in power, there was a strong attachment for the mother country. While it was a monarchy, it contained many of the features of a republic, and through its wise laws had guaranteed to its citizens a large share of liberty and protection. And it is to the credit of those wise men that the final rupture was long delayed. The world has never known a more magnificent body of men than those who constituted the "Old Continental Congress." Of their petition to King George, William Pitt said, "For myself I must avow that in all my reading—and I have read Thucydides, and I have studied and admired the master statesmen of the world—for solidity of reason, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, under a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia. The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to it, and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty continental nation must be in vain." This action was before Lexington and Concord, and they were not then looking to independence, but it was simply a heroic devotion to principle. A large share of the unjust taxation had been removed, but the command of the King was, "that there should always be one tax, at least, to keep up the right of taxing," to which the answer of the colonists was, that "taxation without representation" was tyranny, and would be resisted. When the issue was finally joined, it was not so much the burden imposed as the principle involved. The

King asserted the right to tax much or little, at his pleasure, and undertook to enforce this right by the most offensive measures. Ministerial persecution was specially directed against Boston, but the wrong was promptly resisted by every province. This called forth the patriotic utterance of Patrick Henry, when he said, "British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies; the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American."

The "Second Continental Congress" was composed of many of the same men as those in the first. They again petitioned the King for a redress of grievances, the answer to which was an increase of the military equipment at every point, with an avowed purpose of subjugation. Then the Revolution came. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee introduced a resolution into Congress, declaring "that the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent states, and that their political connection with Great Britain is and ought to be dissolved." This resolution passed. A committee was appointed to draft a declaration of independence, which was written by Jefferson, and on July 4, 1776, was adopted, and a new nation was born. As Guizot says, "They rose into existence as a state under the banner of right and justice." From this hour a new doctrine in government was promulgated; a new source of power and authority was asserted. The germ of self-government which had been planted at Plymouth and Jamestown, and which had been swelling and growing during colonial days, sprang up and became a living reality. A new star had shown out in the firmament, and all eyes were fixed upon it. There had been attempts before to construct republican government, but it was reserved for this immortal document to declare "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." This recognized the people as the sovereign power, thus reversing the monarchial idea that all power is from above. When the Queen of England opens Parliament, she says, "My Lords and Gentlemen: The relations

between *my* government and foreign nations remain friendly," etc. But the President of the United States asks Congress to join with him in passing such laws as will give effect to the will of the people. Since July 4, 1776, every official, high or low, is only a public servant. The Declaration of Independence came to the world like a revelation from Heaven. In fact, next to the Sermon on the Mount, it is the most wonderful production ever penned. It declares that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are the inalienable rights of every individual. It makes the race of life open to all alike. It puts it in the power of every individual to reach the outside limit of his capacity. All traditions were thrown aside: all the glamour of royalty was dispelled. This was a revolt, not only against England, but it was a revolt against the political sentiment of the world. It challenged the attention of the student of political science in every country, and the general forecast was that the ship thus launched would soon go down in disaster. Viewed from the standpoint of the present day, our amazement is at the wonderful sagacity and statesmanship of men living in such circumscribed conditions.

In 1778, bills were passed by the British Parliament repealing all acts obnoxious to the Americans, and efforts were made at reconciliation, but those noble patriots refused to treat on any other basis than the independence of the colonies. They read in the future the destiny that awaited their bold movement. They already heard the plaudits of coming generations. The light they had hung out was casting its rays into the dark places of the earth. And so, with unshaken faith and Spartan valor, all was trusted to the god of war, and not a step was retraced.

"The old Continentals  
In their ragged regimentals  
Faltered not."

The tide of success ebbed and flowed for seven long years. The surrender of Cornwallis was the closing act in a cycle of events fraught with interests as potent for good as any in the history of the race. There had been both a revolution and an evolution. The controversy had its beginning in protests against unwarranted aggressions. From this were evolved new ideas of civil and political rights. And in the end came a government

whose corner stone was the sovereignty of the people. Appropriately can it be said that this Revolution was a prelude to freedom. We have no record of any other carried on as this was. There were no excesses, no violence, no dissensions; but every blow was directed at the enemy, and every movement was made in accordance with the rules of honorable warfare. How unlike the French Revolution which followed so soon after. No doubt the French nation was encouraged to attempt its own liberty by the enthusiasm excited by the ultimate triumph of the American colonies, but they proceeded on different lines. And while there was brought to France a measure of civil and religious liberty, every step was marked with bloodshed.

They who signed the Declaration of Independence gave to its principles a living force by the formation of the Union, and the adoption of the Federal Constitution. As if guided by a divine hand, every step led to something higher and better. The theory of the American republic is that not a vestige of arbitrary power remains. Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is vouchsafed to every citizen by the law of the land, and no one is so strong as to deprive him of them. The freedom won by the Revolution must not be understood as the synonym of license, or that it implies a freedom from legal restraint. The freedom of the republic contemplates a strict observance of the law which the people have imposed upon themselves, and whenever it is sought to go beyond this, the strong arm of the executive should be interposed to enforce the law.

No estimate can be made as to the extent that the principles upon which our government was founded have been diffused among thoughtful men everywhere. The doors of absolutism may be shut against them, yet they break through. Russia may further add to her infamy by doubling and quadrupling her levies of political recruits for the mines of Siberia; but the very winds that sweep over her vast territory carry the seeds of liberty, and they are finding lodgment; and, call it Nihilism, or what you will, the day is not far distant when the whole people will rise up, and the revolution will have been accomplished. The spread of socialism in Germany shows the unrest of the people; and the example of France is fast making itself felt in Spain and Italy. The states of South



America will soon all join the republican column. The republic has brought to Mexico a stability of government and prosperity never enjoyed by her before. Away out in the islands of the sea, for imperial rule there is being substituted the sovereignty of the people.

Since 1776 to the present time, with every recurring year, the principles developed and promulgated by our forefathers have exerted a stronger influence. In his *American Commonwealth*, Prof. Bryce says, "They are, or are supposed to be, institutions of a new type. \* \* \* They represent an experiment in the rule of the multitude, tried on a scale unprecedentedly vast, and the results of which everyone is concerned to watch. And yet they are something more than an experiment, for they are believed to disclose and display the type of institutions, towards which, as by a law of fate, the rest of civilized mankind are forced to move, some with swifter, others with slower, but all with unresting feet." And the same author further says, "Thoughtful Europeans have begun to realize, whether with satisfaction or regret, the enormous and daily increasing influence of the United States, and the splendor of the part reserved for them in the development of civilization."

This splendid heritage of free government is ours. A contemplation of the great work of our patriotic ancestors, and the thought that it is entrusted to our keeping should inspire the loftiest patriotism. No selfish ambition, no party zeal, should obscure the fact that the perpetuity of these institutions in all their glory and power is the first duty of every citizen. All measures and policies should be subordinated to the conservation of those great principles upon which our government was founded. As Rufus Choate said, let us "join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union." Some nations deify their ancestors; it would be well if the memory of the heroes of '76 could be enthroned in the minds and hearts of our people, holding them steadfast in the faith that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are the inalienable rights of every individual, and that to secure those rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. The doctrine, sealed in blood at Trenton and Valley

Forge, at Saratoga and Yorktown, that all men are created free and equal, should be treasured as one of the richest legacies given to the world. If the banner of freedom is to be kept aloft, we must hold fast to these cardinal doctrines. These were the principles on which the Revolution was fought and brought to a successful close; and on these enduring foundations must rest our future stability as a nation. This freedom thus won in sacrifice and blood is ours to enjoy, but it is ours also to perpetuate. To do this it is not sufficient alone to hallow the memories of those who achieved this great victory for the world. To cherish a pride of ancestry is well, but we have ourselves a duty to perform.

"I am one who finds within me a nobility  
That spurns the idle pratings of the great,  
And the vain boast of what their fathers were  
While they themselves are tools effeminate,  
The scorn of all who know the worth of mind and virtue."

Sons and Daughters of the Revolution should set the highest examples of devotion to the principles declared by the founders of the Republic, and by high courage and eternal vigilance strengthen the faith that "Government of the people, and by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." They should stand on the picket-line, meeting every danger. To every foe the warning should be, "*Procul, O procul, este profani.*" As constituent elements of this great political body, their citizenship should be conspicuous, and their work should be earnest and active in the promotion of that honor and honesty, truth and intelligence, which are the only safeguards to free institutions. We should talk of our country, and proclaim its glories. Its mission has but just begun. It can be confidently hoped and expected that in the coming years freedom born of the Revolution will bring all nations under its beneficent rule. Its conquering march cannot be resisted, its glory cannot be dimmed.

"Forever furl that standard sheet,  
Where breathes the foe but falls before us.  
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet  
And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us."

## HON. HENRY HITCHCOCK.

### "THE REVOLUTION: A MAKER OF THE WAY CLEAR FOR THE ENTHRONEMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW."

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

The patriots who fired the first shots of the Revolution, the "embattled farmers" at Concord Bridge

"Who fired the shot heard round the world,"

were *minute men*. I am officially advised that those who have the honor this evening of recalling to you what those patriots achieved, not for themselves and their posterity alone, but for mankind, are to consider themselves *fifteen-minute men*, and that they are on no account to exceed twenty minutes.

The Committee's limit is a judicious one. It has the quality of mercy, which is twice blessed,—blessing both him who is invited to speak and them who are expected to patiently hear. But when applied to the sentiment which the Chairman has just announced, it reminds one of that story of a certain literary Frenchwoman, on the occasion of her first meeting a famous German metaphysician. She greeted him, the story goes, with effusion—"I am enchanted to meet you. It is you who have invented that so difficult and most charming philosophy. And now you will tell me all about it in five minutes." "But, madame," answered the startled sage, "there are some things which do not express themselves in five minutes."

Under the present circumstances, a response to that sentiment, by way either of an historical account of the Revolution, or a critical disquisition upon the Constitution, would involve a like embarrassment. The outlines, at least, of that great struggle are familiar to every American. Its cardinal events and the illustrious names of its chief actors are household words. Lexington, Bunker Hill, Ticonderoga, Fort Moultrie, Trenton and the crossing of the Delaware, Bennington, Saratoga, Stony Point, King's Mountain, the Cowpens, the final surrender at Yorktown,—with what just and patriotic pride do we recall these victories,—for Bunker Hill was in its results a victory—those successive and glorious steps in the march

of human liberty and progress, contrasting them with the many bloody fields where millions of hearts and homes were desolated, to gratify one man's ambition for empire, or to secure the supremacy of one nation by the conquest and enslavement of another.

We cannot forget the darker scenes of that long and doubtful contest,—among them the retreat from Long Island, the long winter of suffering at Valley Forge, the disasters at the Brandywine, Germantown and Camden, or the massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley, the work of savage allies, the employment of whom Edmund Burke denounced with indignant sarcasm in the British House of Commons. More threatening still were the internal dangers,—the lack of organization, civil and military, the lack of money and credit, which it was vainly attempted to replace by enormous issues of a paper currency, based upon those pernicious theories of so-called finance and fiat money which have unhappily survived even that terrible experience to delude and distress succeeding generations,—money, of which, before the war ended, as Washington said, it took a wagon load to pay for a wagon load of provisions; the administrative incapacity of Congress, which more than once paralyzed the uplifted arm and sword of Washington; the jealousies and rivalries which bore fruit in the schemes of Conway's cabal to supplant Washington in the chief command; the secret treachery of Charles Lee, and the treason which set the name of Benedict Arnold upon a pinnacle of infamy overtopped only by that of Judas Iscariot.

Against those dark shadows stands out in bright relief the generous ardor of the youthful Lafayette, manifested not more in his filial devotion to Washington and his services in the field, than in his urgent appeals to the French Minister, Vergennes, that the King of France should furnish the aid, naval and military, which should turn the scale in favor of the almost exhausted Colonies. That aid was given; and on October 19, 1781, Lord Cornwallis, shut up in the peninsula at Yorktown, cut off by the French fleet from help by sea, confronted on land by the combined armies of Washington and Rochambeau, laid down his arms. A hundred years later, at the Centennial of Yorktown, this nation welcomed as ancient allies and honored guests the representatives of the French Republic.

But we have not met this evening, nor was this Society established, to celebrate feats of arms, or to perpetuate, as such, the memory of military triumphs. The sentiment which the Chairman has proposed, by a figure of speech personifying the War of the Revolution, bids us regard its highest significance and glory, and invites us to contemplate and rejoice in its true and noblest work. That work was not to scatter and destroy, nor merely to break the power on this continent of an obstinate king, above whose crown no longer shone the legendary halo of divine right, yet who would still play the tyrant across the sea. It was to prepare for the building of a new nation, according to a plan yet untried, and which was to constitute a new departure in the political history of mankind. The far-sighted statesmanship of Benjamin Franklin, at the Colonial Conference at Albany in 1754, outlined and proposed a plan which involved the same essential principles: but the time was not ripe, for the contest between England and France for the dominion of the New World, once more renewed, had to be fought out. The British conquest of Canada, while it relieved the Colonies from the danger of invasion, also gave opportunity and encouragement to George III. and his parliament to assert arbitrary powers of taxation and control which the men of the Colonies deemed subversive of their rights as freemen, and which they steadily resisted year by year. At last, in 1774, the Boston Port Bill and its kindred Acts of Parliament brought on the crisis, the Articles of Association were signed, the first Continental Congress met, and in the Union of Colonies thus formed were laid the foundations, of that more perfect union which was to come.

“The Union,”—said Mr. Lincoln, in his first inaugural address, —“is much older than the Constitution. It was formed in fact by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly pledged and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation, in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was ‘to form a *more perfect union*.’ ”

It is interesting, in connection with this declaration of Mr. Lincoln, and in view of the circumstances under which it was

made, to note the statement made by Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, in his elaborate work, "The War Between the States," that "The first Union, so formed, from which the present Union arose, was that of the Colonies in 1774."

Thus united, thus already a nation in embryo, represented in all external relations by the Continental Congress, although the feebleness and insufficiency of its powers added enormously to the difficulties of the task, the Colonies went forward in their divinely appointed work of extirpating the last vestige of kingly power or arbitrary control over their inherited rights. Two years of unavailing remonstrance and determined, though passive, resistance convinced the most reluctant that for this nothing short of independence would suffice; and in adopting the Declaration of Independence the next step was taken towards establishing a government based upon the rights of man, and which should reconcile the demands of liberty with the wholesome and indispensable restraints of law. It was not merely the wreaking of childish wrath upon a senseless thing, that when the Colony of New York, on July 9, 1776, ratified the Declaration of Independence, the patriots of its chief city celebrated the occasion by throwing down the leaden statue of George III. on the Bowling Green and casting it into bullets. It was a very practical expression of their purpose to fight for their rights, since fight they must. But the act, however unimportant in itself, was profoundly typical of the new era, of the political principles whose supremacy it declared, of the displacement of the old order and the ushering in of the new. Till then it might have been said in America, as in Europe, "The king is dead; long live the king." But when the Declaration of Independence proclaimed, and the Treaty of Paris ratified, so far as the United States of America were concerned, the political fact which in technical legal phrase is called the demise of the crown, it can be truly said that the Revolution, in accomplishing the dethronement of George III., made the way clear for the enthronement of the Constitution.

I repeat, the work of the Revolution was not a work of destruction, but of development, of upbuilding. The old edifice could not endure. The statesmen of the Colonies — and that

Washington, Franklin, Otis, Samuel and John Adams and their associates were statesmen of the first rank, impartial history has long ago declared—building even more wisely than they knew, had laid the foundations broad and deep. And when the clash of arms had ceased, when the pressure of a common external danger had relaxed, still steadfastly toiling through many dark and anxious days, braving and at last overcoming obstacles greater and internal dangers more alarming than any foreign foe could contrive, it was their crowning achievement to erect the new edifice in which to enthrone the Constitution, under which they established a government which could solve, and which—thank God!—*has* solved problems, and overcome perils, such as were never before successfully encountered in the political history of mankind.

Foremost among these statesmen, by universal acclaim,—“First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen,”—was the majestic figure of him, the anniversary of whose birth this society celebrates by its first festive meeting. In honoring the memory of GEORGE WASHINGTON, its members proclaim their fidelity to the moral and political principles which his matchless career exemplified, and their deep conviction,—as citizens of a country which to him, under God, more than to any other man, owes its existence, the blessings of its past and the marvellous promise of its future,—that only by the maintenance of those principles, by observance of the prophetic counsels of that unequalled legacy of wise patriotism, his Farewell Address, can the welfare of that country be promoted, the Union be maintained, or the government established by the Fathers handed down to their posterity.

To the innumerable eulogies of Washington I shall not presume to add another. But one sentence from an eloquent address of Phillips Brooks, is in itself a description of Washington so admirable and a eulogy so complete, that I venture to repeat it.

“It was a noble gift of Providence that in one man should be comprised and pictured, for the dullest eye to see, the majesty and meaning of the struggle that gave our nation birth.”

After all, not only to the mass of mankind, but to him who is

most familiar with the study of those underlying principles of which the events of history are only the inevitable working out, the life and character of a great man are the best expression and illustration of those principles. He is the incarnation of the truths which inspired him, the motives which impelled him, the cause for which he stood: and for most of us, the best way to understand these is to study the lives of such men. Above all is this true when they bore some large part in great events, which either promoted or retarded the welfare of mankind. So, Martin Luther stands for the Reformation, Napoleon Bonaparte for military genius, inflamed by an utterly selfish ambition, and Washington for a sublime patriotism, forgetful of self and devoting the powers of a great soul to the establishment of human liberty protected and regulated by law. Of such men it has been truly said —“Some men are events. It is not what they say, or what they do, but what they are, that moves the world.”

In the few moments that remain, permit me to speak of that other illustrious American, the trusted friend and biographer of Washington, to whom, scarcely less than to those who framed it, the true enthronement of the Constitution was due. For while it is true that the Revolution made the way clear, and that the statesmen and heroes of the Revolution were the men who placed the Constitution upon its throne, it is not less true that by John Marshall, the Expounder of the Constitution, its meaning was interpreted, its principles explained, the novel and unique powers which it conferred upon the different departments of the government enforced, and the dignity of that great tribunal maintained over which he presided for the period of a generation.

It was in the year of Marshall's birth, 1755, that Washington bore his memorable part in the disastrous expedition and defeat of Braddock. In May, 1775, at the outbreak of the Revolution, Marshall, not yet twenty years of age, was a lieutenant, in 1777 a captain, in the patriotic army, in which he served more than five years. In November, 1775, he was engaged in a sharp fight at Great Bridge, as lieutenant of a company of sharpshooters, who dislodged a force of British regulars from a fort commanding the approach to Norfolk, thereby securing the capture of the town, the British losing sixty-one men, while not a Virginian



was slain. Later, he served in the battles of Iron Hill, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, also taking part in the bold surprise of Paulus Hook by Major Harry Lee, and in the still more daring and successful assault on Stony Point by Mad Anthony Wayne, in 1779. He shared with conspicuous cheerfulness and patience the sufferings and privations at Valley Forge, where his singularly sweet and serene temperament made him the idol of his comrades, who regarded him, says a contemporary, as not only brave, but signally intelligent, and constantly appealed to him as the arbiter of their disputes. Often employed as judge advocate, he became personally acquainted with Washington, thus beginning the warm friendship which ever afterwards subsisted between them. In the intervals of leisure towards the close of the war, he studied law, and settling in Richmond when peace was declared, his rapid rise to professional distinction was equalled only by his extraordinary personal popularity. Never seeking public office, he was repeatedly elected to the legislature, the last time without his knowledge and against his will. His observation and experience, both during the war and in the still more trying times which followed the peace, convinced him, to use his own words, that no safe and permanent remedy for the public dangers could be found but in a more efficient and better organized government. He was not a member of the convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution, but when it was submitted to the States, he was a determined advocate for its adoption, and was elected a member of the Virginia Convention of 1788, by a triumphant majority, in the face of strong opposition. In that convention, perhaps the most illustrious body that ever assembled in Virginia, Marshall took a leading part. Patrick Henry, then at the height of his fame, led the attack upon the Constitution, seconded by Monroe, Mason and other advocates of State sovereignty, and opposed by Madison, Randolph, Marshall and other men of note, and during twenty-five days of keen and powerful debate the issue was in doubt; but by a narrow majority the friends of the Constitution finally prevailed. In the political conflicts which followed, the courage, the personal influence and great ability of Marshall became still more conspicuous, and his professional reputation steadily grew. Washington, during his

second presidency, offered him the position of Attorney General, and subsequently the mission to France, to succeed Mr. Monroe, both of which he declined. But in 1797, he reluctantly accepted, from a sense of public duty, an appointment by President Adams, as one of three envoys extraordinary to France, his associates being Gerry and Pinckney, to renew negotiations the failure of which had brought the two countries to the brink of war. Their mission was unsuccessful. Talleyrand in vain attempted alternately to browbeat and cajole them into the payment not only of tribute, but of a bribe. The publication in the United States of the masterly official dispatches prepared by Marshall, while arousing universal indignation, greatly increased his reputation. His return home, in June, 1798, was literally an ovation. At a public dinner given in his honor by members of both Houses of Congress, was proposed the sentiment, instantly everywhere repeated and often quoted since,—“Millions for defense, not a cent for tribute.” In 1799, at the earnest solicitation of Washington, he became a candidate for Congress, declining an offer by President Adams of a seat in the Supreme Court as successor to Judge Wilson. An exciting canvass resulted in his election, in spite of personal calumnies so gross as to call forth a letter from Patrick Henry, warmly supporting him as “far above any competition.” He had scarcely taken his seat, in December, 1799, when the melancholy duty devolved upon him of announcing to the House the death of Washington, and the resolutions adopted on his motion, though written by another, contained the well-known tribute to him who was—“First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow countrymen.” He served only part of his term in Congress, being soon called to a Cabinet position, but during that time took part with distinguished ability in a debate which involved the constitutional powers of the President, by a speech which it was conceded admitted of no reply.

In May, 1800, President Adams appointed Marshall Secretary of War, which he declined; but the Secretary of State also resigning, he was appointed to and accepted that position, and again displayed his great powers in the dignified and skillful conduct of negotiations with France, England and Spain, involving internal questions of the highest importance. On the 31st day of Janu-

ary, 1801, he was nominated by President Adams and unanimously confirmed by the Senate to the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. With such training, as soldier, lawyer, legislator, statesman and man of affairs, John Marshall entered upon a judicial career, to which, it is not too much to say, no other in history affords a parallel.

Of that career, this is not the time nor the place to speak in detail. The estimate placed on his judicial labors by his contemporaries, the lapse of two generations has confirmed: nor can that estimate be better stated than in the language of Mr. Justice Story, in dedicating to Marshall his *Commentaries on the Constitution*.

“Other judges have attained an elevated reputation by similar labors in a single department of jurisprudence. But in one department—it need scarcely be said that I allude to that of constitutional law—the common consent of your countrymen has admitted you to stand without a rival. Posterity will surely confirm by its deliberate award what the present age has approved as an act of undisputed justice.”

In July, 1835, death terminated his labors, and throughout the Union fitting expression was given to the veneration in which the great jurist was held by the bench and bar. I quote a single example from the resolutions unanimously adopted by the bar of Charleston, South Carolina, upon the motion of one of its most eminent members.

“Even the spirit of party respected the unsullied purity of the Judge, and the fame of the Chief Justice has justified the wisdom of the Constitution and reconciled the jealousy of freedom to the independence of the judiciary.”

It is the praiseworthy aim of this Society not only to celebrate the deeds and to cherish the illustrious memory of the men of the Revolution, but to preserve and inculcate throughout the land the spirit of patriotism and wisdom and righteousness, by which those deeds were inspired and that memory has been consecrated. In that alone lies our hope as a people. To fail in that would be to undermine the foundations of the nation's life, to corrode and destroy its prosperity, and to invoke its doom under the inexorable law which governs the destinies of nations as of men.

## HON. EDWARD HERRICK ALLEN.

### "THE REVOLUTION: A MAKER OF THE PATH STRAIGHT FOR COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY."

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

The consideration of this sentiment very naturally suggests to us the contrasts in the motives under which the first seizures for settlement and possession of this new continent were made by the peoples of Europe. The conquests as they have been called, of that portion of the continent lying south of the southern line of our present state of Georgia, by the Spaniards, was under the desire for commercial advantage, and all other considerations were subordinate to this. The settlement of the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes by the French, was also under the desire of commercial gain; and magnificently heroic as were the explorations of French missionaries through the western waterways of this portion of the continent, all this was incidental to the interest in the acquisition and control of the fur trade of the north. In contrast with these, in the occupation of the coast line between the Bay of Fundy and the southern line of Georgia, every settlement, if we except the settlement of Manhattan and the valley of the Hudson by the Dutch, was made under the desire of establishing a home of specified advantages, the question of trade and commerce being wholly secondary and subordinate, the natural incident and outgrowth of a fixed and settled community.

In the light of these contrasts the results of to-day are significant. For to-day, whatever may be the eminence of Spanish America in literature, art and education, in the line of commercial prosperity she has fallen short of the results in our own United States. No one will deny that our own change from a collection of European Colonies into a consolidated independent government, whilst north and south of us the segregated colonial condition of the territory continued, is a significant feature in this difference. What the significance of this change is will readily appear when we remember that the navigation laws of the British Empire, which restrained and constrained the trade of the colonies for over one hundred years, prior to our assertion of independence, continued to be without any essential change, the controlling navigation laws

of the British Empire for seventy years after the recognition of our independence. The essential feature of these laws which for two hundred years, held in hand the commerce of the British Empire were as follows: First, that only British ships should carry any merchandise from any port of the British Empire to any other port. Second, that no ship was considered a British ship that was not built wholly within the dominion of Great Britain and wholly owned by British subjects and managed by a British Commander with a crew of which at least three-fourths were British subjects. Third, that no goods which were the growth, product or manufacture of Asia, Africa or America, should be imported into any of the ports of Great Britain except in British ships or in ships of the country of which the goods were the products, whilst no British colony could trade direct even in her own ships with any continental European port north of Cape Finisterre. It is a significant fact that under these laws on the eve of our Revolution more than three-fourths of the ship tonnage employed in British commerce was of American construction. Although the Declaration of Independence in its long list of wrongs devotes only one line to these commercial restraints, there is abundant evidence that they were felt to be a serious burden upon our trading communities. The great opportunities that would be opened to us by our release from the control of Great Britain were clearly foreseen.

On the 8th of January, 1776, the day when the King's bitter speech at the opening of Parliament reached America, there appeared in Philadelphia a pamphlet in favor of the independence of the colonies, entitled, "Common Sense." In this publication, were the following sentences touching the question of commerce: "Much has been said that Britain and the Colonies in conjunction might bid defiance to the world. What have we to do with setting the world at defiance? Our plan is commerce; and that will secure us the friendship of all Europe. It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European combinations which she never can do, whilst by her dependence on Britain she is the makeshift in the scale of British politics." In these sentences lies the key note to the future of the American colonies. In the recognition of the independence of the colonies, Lord Shelburne and his col-

leagues of the existing British Cabinet "were indefatigable in digesting a great and extensive system of trade, and sought by the emancipation of commerce to bring about with the Americans a family friendship more beneficial to England than their former dependence." In this effort they were opposed by the notable coalition of Fox and Burke with Lord North and the Tories. The closing words of Shelburne in defense of the treaty in the House of Lords are of interest: "If better terms could have been had, think you, my Lords, that I would not have embraced them? If it had been possible to put aside the bitter cup which the adversities of this country presented to me, you know I would have done it. The fur trade is not given up; it is only divided, and divided for our benefit. Its best resources lie to the northward. Monopolies some way or other are ever justly punished. They forbid rivalry and rivalry is the very essence of the well being of trade. This seems to be the era of protestantism in trade. All Europe appears enlightened and eager to throw off the vile shackles of oppressive, ignorant, unmanly monopoly. It is always unwise, but if there is any nation under heaven who ought to be first to reject monopoly, it is the English. Situated as we are between the old world and the new and between southern and northern Europe, all that we ought to wish is equity and free trade. With more industry, with more enterprise, with more capital than any trading nation upon the earth, it ought to be our constant cry, 'Let every market be open;' let us meet our rivals fairly and ask no more, telling the Americans that we desire to live with them in community of benefits and in sincerity of friendship." Shelburne and his colleagues were defeated and though the treaty of peace was recognized the new coalition ministry determined to hold the surrendered colonies as subordinate dependencies in the world of commerce. The effort to subjugate by arms having failed, an effort to subjugate by trade followed.

The condition of the colonies as to their future outlook is thus set forth from the English point of view in the following words of Dean Tucker of Gloucester: "As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire under one head, either republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by the writers of romance.

The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their difference of governments, habitudes and manners, indicate that they will have no center of union and no common interest. They can never be united into one compact Empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities according to natural boundaries by great bodies of the sea and by vast rivers, lakes and ridges of mountains."

The five years of confusion that intervened between the recognized independence of the colonies and their consolidation under the adoption of the constitution showed that these expectations were not without warrant of fact. Carolina seeking a market for her rice and indigo, Virginia for her hemp and tobacco, New Hampshire for her timber and Massachusetts for her fish and oil, were but separate examples of the manifold diversities of interests that entered into every attempt to build up a commerce negotiable by thirteen independent principalities with the nations of the world. These diversities soon led to hostile trade rules between the colonies themselves: New York imposing burdensome regulations upon the trade of New Jersey and Rhode Island, for example. In this cross-fire of conflicting interests between the separate colonies and the separate nations of Europe, no satisfactory result of the commerce of the whole country could be secured. In the adoption of the constitution destroying all obstacles to the freedom of trade between the states and committing to Congress the control of all foreign commerce the pathway to commercial prosperity was made straight. Despite the continued interference of Great Britain and her attempt to subordinate the commerce of America, which were never wholly disposed of till a second war and the treaty of 1815, the growth of American commerce during the twenty years of conflict between England and Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, when we controlled the neutral trade of the world, shows what a pathway this was and how clearly Thomas Paine in his "Common Sense" foresaw the true career of America.

Great as was the commercial opportunity to America because of the sundering of her colonial relations to Great Britain, the creation of free trade between the separate states under the constitu-

tion and the control of foreign commerce by the national government, our success in its wise improvement may well be questioned. Our government soon adopted the navigation laws of Great Britain from which she had been freed, with a few minor modifications, and they still stand with an exception of two, of very late date, as the navigation laws of these states, though Great Britain repealed them forty years ago under wiser views of her true interest.

The presence of so many sisters with us to-night, suggests another thought in this connection. A prosperous commercial community has always been a gatherer of capital and the wise investment of capital has been the basis of improvement in the centuries of life among men. The rarest and most valuable ability among men is the ability to discriminate confidently between a wise and unwise investment of capital, for on this discrimination rests the parting of the ways in national prosperity and perpetuity. Some years since a committee of ladies called upon the President of one of our largest corporations to solicit a change in one of the details of its management, and the leader began with an apology on the ground that as women out of business, they might be thought to have no proper ground from which to prefer their request. The president addressed checked the apology with the declaration that with his corporation women had the best of grounds for being heard, for the majority of the stock of the corporation was owned by women. Some days later this event was under discussion in the office of a broker in New York, and a gentleman present who was supposed to know whereof he spoke, said that the majority of the stock in the New York Central railroad was owned directly or indirectly by women. I have somewhere seen the statement, since made by one who claimed to have the right to speak with probable truth, that more than half the bonded debt of the United States was directly or indirectly owned by women. Directly, that is, registered in the names of women or held in the custody and ownership of women; or indirectly, that is, registered in names of men or corporations or in the custody and nominal ownership of men, or corporations who were simply trustees, of whom the beneficiaries are women. As the investments of capital control the work and enterprises of men, if the foregoing assumptions are to



be trusted, with the women of the world rests the balance of power to-day in the determination of the sales of bonds and stocks of the world and the consequent solvency of its heaviest brokers and bankers and constructions of railways and canals, the conduct of national affairs and at last the prosperity and perpetuity of our government.

Pardon me, ladies, this is no gush of chivalric sentiment. It is true, profoundly true, that the sentiment of chivalry does rightfully bend the head and hand of every man to the service of your comfort and your pleasure. But all that I have said is the cool, unsentimental recognition of the facts of our human life as fixed and irrefragable as the centripetal and centrifugal forces that hold the numberless planets of the universe in the fixed orbits of their continued movement.



# ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

## Kansas City Chapter Sons of the Revolution,

KANSAS CITY, OCTOBER 19, 1895.

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### HON. EDWARD HERRICK ALLEN.

One hundred and fourteen years ago to-day at four o'clock in the afternoon, seven thousand, two hundred and forty-seven British regulars, with eight hundred and forty sailors, marched out of the fortifications of Yorktown and stacked arms in surrender to seven thousand French soldiers and nine thousand colonial troops and militia men. The news of this brilliant event reached France on the 19th of November, and electrified all classes of the nation. It was known in London on the 25th of November, and it is reported that Lord North, then the Prime Minister, upon hearing the report, strode in anguish up and down his room, exclaiming many times, "It is all over," "It is all over." To measure the height of the joy in France or the depth of the sorrow in Britain, we must remind ourselves that at the beginning of the year 1781, France and Spain had become weary of the war, hopeless of any advantage in its continuance and desirous of peace, the outlook for the colonists was altogether discouraging. The British cabinet understood this situation, and were confident that a successful campaign in Virginia would insure an advantageous peace and the restoration of the rebellious colonies to the control of the mother country. Lord Cornwallis' successful campaign through the Carolinas marked him out as the officer sure of success in the Virginia campaign.

Five thousand picked British soldiers were furnished him and he marched into Virginia occupying Portsmouth, which he selected as the advantageous base of the summer's operations.

Sir Henry Clinton, the Commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, thought Point Comfort the more desirable position. Finally the Peninsula of York was selected as preferable to any other point, and on the first day of August Cornwallis received orders from Clinton to occupy the Peninsula of York with all his available forces, which order was promptly obeyed. At this time in addition to a local force of eight thousand men in camp at Yorktown under Cornwallis, the British had over eighteen thousand men in and about New York, some scattered troops through the Carolinas and a large naval force in New York harbor and scattered along the Atlantic coast. To resist this force, Washington had about eight thousand troops in camp north of New York on the East bank of the Hudson, a small force under Lafayette in Virginia, watching Cornwallis, and the French had a strong naval force near the West Indies and a small force in the harbor at Newport, Rhode Island. The outlook was discouraging enough for the Colonists and the French. As soon as Lafayette realized that Cornwallis had abandoned Portsmouth and was concentrating his entire force on the Peninsula of York, he apprehended the fatality of the change for the British and the great opportunity given the French and Americans. He communicated his knowledge and opinion promptly to the Commander of the French fleet at the West Indies and to General Washington and wrote to Maurepas, the French Minister, "Delay all negotiations for peace, await the result of the Virginia campaign. You will have brilliant news before the year ends." The West Indies fleet moved at once to the occupation of Chesapeake Bay and disembarked troops to aid Lafayette. Washington started at once for Virginia with his whole force. Under a feint of attacking New York City, he crossed the Hudson without opposition, and his troops were crossing the Delaware on their way south before Sir Henry Clinton realized their real purpose. Benedict Arnold was sent to devastate Connecticut in the vain hope of forcing Washington back. A naval force was despatched to drive the French out of Chesapeake Bay, but the British fleet was driven out to sea with the loss of three ships of the line. On the 28th of September, Washington's army reached Williamsburgh and on the 30th

they were united with the command under Lafayette. On the 9th of October, the circumvallation of Cornwallis was complete. On the 11th the two chief redoubts of the British were taken by storm. On the 16th Cornwallis made a desperate but unsuccessful sortie. On the 17th he proposed to negotiate for surrender. On the 18th, the articles of capitulation were agreed upon and signed, and on the 19th as stated, the surrender was made. This, as Lord North said, closed the fighting of our war for independence. The British troops scattered through the south, fell back at once into the fortifications of Charleston and Savannah. The rest was a diplomatic contest over the terms of peace. On Christmas Day stubborn King George declared he would never consent to a peace recognizing the independence of the Colonies, but before spring his losing strength in the House of Commons forced him to dismiss the Cabinet of Lord North and to organize a new ministry under Rockingham, pledged to peace, even with independence. The preliminary articles of peace with the Colonies were signed on the 4th of December, 1782, so favorable that the French Minister upon a report of the details declared, "Great Britain has not made peace with its American Colonies, it has bought a peace from them." The preliminary articles of peace were signed by the Commissioners for Great Britain, France and Spain in February, 1783, and in September, 1783, all conditions were approved by the British Government and the independence of the American Colonies acknowledged one hundred and twelve years ago.

It may interest you to know that the last surviving soldier of the Revolution died in 1867, aged 106 years. We have still surviving sons and daughters of Revolutionary soldiers.

The Societies of the Daughters of the American Revolution have voted to give a souvenir spoon to every member of their Society who is a daughter of a Revolutionary soldier. I am told they have during the current year delivered 42 such souvenir spoons. Among the members of this Society who grace our table to night, there sits a recipient of one of these spoons. In this city there lives a lady, whose father was 25 years old at the outbreak of the war of the Revolution, served through the

war and lived over sixty years thereafter, living and dying in the county in which he was born.

An incident in the surrender at Yorktown gave the opportunity for an effective repartee by an American lady at a London dinner eighty years afterward. Lord Cornwallis remained in his tent during this 19th day of October, placing the surrendering troops under command of Major General O'Hara. This necessitated the selection by Washington of a subordinate officer to receive at the hands of General O'Hara the evacuating army. This service was performed by Major General Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts. At a dinner in the city of London, after the news of the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States was known there, an English gentleman undertook to chaff an American lady present upon the insignificance of the newly elected President. Among other chaffing queries and remarks, he said he could not recollect any eminent family of Lincoln in America. "Your Lordship," promptly came the reply, "seems to have forgotten the General Benjamin Lincoln who received the surrendered sword of Cornwallis at Yorktown."

## REV. HENRY HOPKINS, D. D.

### "PATRIOTISM IN WAR IS PUBLIC SPIRIT IN PEACE."

Thomas Carlyle has somewhere said: "The ultimate question between every two human beings is, can I kill thee or canst thou kill me?" That utterance is characteristic of Mr. Carlyle's exaggerated and at times, somewhat hysterical style, but it is after all a striking statement of a generic fact in human history. The struggle for existence and for precedence has been fierce and long, and it still goes on.

Mr. Darwin describes man's immediate ancestor as "a hairy, tailed quadruped, probably aboreal in its habits." I may say in passing, Sir, that it has been remarked that if this ancestor of ours was aboreal in his habits, it is highly probable that in the course of his education he became familiar with

the higher branches;—but however that may be, it is certain that existence for the creature meant continual struggle; and that if it ever became anything better than “a hairy, tailed quadruped with aboreal habits,” struggle was not only the price but the occasion of the ascent. Certainly the early savage man lived by struggle, and by it he was made. We cannot read the history of the past, as the theory of evolution writes it, without perceiving that the struggle for life has been, and is, a first necessity of progress. Nor can we watch human life about us without having the same conclusion forced upon us. Degeneration begins when struggle ceases and reversal towards the original type takes place. Of this may not a young man of a certain type be an illustration? He toils not neither does he spin; he never contends for anything; in principle he stands for nothing, and so in his very appearance, the dude of all nations, even of the first generation, seems visibly to approximate some anthropoid progenitor. It is plain, whatever our hypothesis of origins, that it is true as claimed, that not only life and struggle, but health and struggle, growth and struggle, and progress and struggle, have always gone together; and that in the later stages of humanity, morality and struggle, and even religion and struggle are linked together in inseparable and necessary connection.

Patriotism is no exception to this law, for the fact remains as true in the life of the community as of the individual, in national as in personal history. Walter Bagehot in his “Physics and Politics” has a chapter on the “Uses of Conflict.” That is a suggestive title. It is a fact that through conflict nations are elevated, trained, developed. This conflict has been on every possible arena; it has been continually on the battle-field. We must acknowledge that in nation-making war has been a powerful and constant factor; and that through war has often come the training which has made a people not only strong but noble. This is not to advocate war, nor to say that it is even a necessary part of national training. The horrors of any war are unspeakable. Some of you to-night wear insignia other than of the Sons of the Revolution. You have had actual contact with the scenes of war. You know what war means, and you, least of all men, desire war’s return. Sometimes in your dreams you

cry out as thousands did in their waking hours, only a generation ago:—

“O the weary marching men,  
O the brutal bellowing guns,  
O the gory fields, when the land lies drunk  
With the blood of her slaughtered sons!  
How long O Lord, how long,  
How long before Thy day,  
Ere the angel of peace shall come again,  
And brothers shall cease to slay?”

Surely my comrades we do not forget the fields where “garments were rolled in blood and the earth covered her slain.” We do not forget the spectacle of the great army hospital, nor the mourning and sorrow carried to numberless households. In the good time coming there will be no wars, but after all, after all, we are sure that there are worse things than war. A peace purchased at the expense of principle, and honor, and justice, and liberty, and national life, is worse than war, is a peace ignoble and unworthy, out of which with a thrill as of divine life true men sometimes

“Wake to the higher aims  
Of a land that has lost for a little her lust of gold  
And love of a peace that was full of wrongs and shames  
Horrible, hateful, monstrous, not to be told:  
And hail once more to the banner of battle unrolled!  
Tho’ many a light shall darken, and many shall weep  
For those that are crushed in the clash of jarring claims,  
Yet many a darkness into the light shall leap

\* \* \* \* \*

And shine in the sudden making of splendid names,  
And noble thought be freer under the sun,  
And the heart of a people beat with one desire.”

When a whole people lifts itself up to undertake together a desperate and noble task, fighting for self-preservation, for truth, for freedom, for justice, all the great ennobling passions of humanity are called into play, and so the nation gets education and uplift. There is besides, in the soldiers themselves of such a war, training in the soldierly virtues, in obedience, patience, endurance, honor, intrepidity, courage, self-sacrifice, qualities all much needed to counteract the enervating influences of commerce and luxury in degenerate days of peace.



What great principle ever triumphed without great self-sacrifice? None in all history. We do not enjoy to-day a solitary privilege, civil or religious, which is not perfumed with the suffering and heroic valor of those who have gone before us.

If now patriotism in war is to be public spirit in peace, of what sort must that public spirit be? The patriotism that flamed forth in war was no passive, calculating quality. It was positive, self-assertive, generous. It had a definite programme; it meant business, it was ready to fight, if need be, and to keep fighting; to lose occupation, home, life itself if it must, to gain its end. Self-sacrifice without limit, and unbounded courage, were the characteristics of the patriotism of the fathers of the revolution. What is patriotism in war? Ask Saratoga and Valley Forge. Ask the men who after seven years of fighting stood in line in their ragged regimentals 114 years ago to-day to receive the surrender of Cornwallis and his army. What then is the public spirit in peace that is worthy to be the continuation of the patriotism of the fathers in war? Surely it must have in it the same qualities of courage and self-sacrifice, and it must recognize the fact that conflict is still a necessary condition of progress.

My contention, Mr. President and companions all, is, that *struggle is necessary to preserve what struggle has won.*

We must infuse this element into our public spirit or it will be but a feeble expression of patriotism, nay, a travesty and mockery of the strenuous and exalted spirit of your "firm-pulsed sires."

There is room and need for toil and hard fighting in the service of country in time of peace as well as in time of war. We live in a day when relief of suffering is the popular virtue, when charity is highly honored, and naturally public spirit takes on these forms. There is danger lest the great indignations of our nature against wrong perish, lest the fire and fibre of noble virtue be lost in good-natured acquiescence with evil, until our morals and our politics alike, become a "mush of concessions." The oppositions in the moral world are as inherent and necessary as those of the elements in the physical world. Opposition to evil is only the other side of the choice of goodness. You cannot have one without the other, and the strength of the one will be the measure of the strength of the other. If you will tell me how I can love

my country and not oppose those who would destroy her, I will tell you how there can be a magnetic needle with the positive pole pointing to the north, and no negative pole pointing in the opposite direction.

If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, perpetual struggle is its defense, for of what use is the watchfulness which lifts no voice or hand when danger threatens? We all, here met to-night—Sons and Daughters of the Revolution—come of fighting stock. This is something, but the fight is still on, and to lend a hand to-day is more and better. Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, but the enemies of free government are vigorous and defiant in Missouri.

A battle call is often the only key note to success in moral conflict. As occasion requires, let the issue for righteousness be squarely joined; let the will of the leaders be like a trumpet call to war, and the people will rally to the standard. They will rally to the standard in a fight for righteousness, as they did for the overthrow of Tammany, as they did to put down the Mayor Hopkins regime, as pestilent as Tammany, in Chicago. Of course the work of building is as needful, and always more noble than that of defense or destruction, but the time has not yet come when we can build our walls otherwise than they of Nehemiah's time built Zion, when "every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held his weapon."

James Russell Lowell, at the end of the civil war, in the great access of joy and hope and love which filled many a patriotic breast, closed his magnificent commemoration ode with this impassioned personification and consecration:—

"O Beautiful! my Country! ours once more!  
 Smoothing thy gold of war-dishevelled hair  
 O'er such sweet brows as never other wore,  
 And letting thy set lips,  
 Freed from wrath's pale eclipse,  
 The rosy edges of their smile lay bare,  
 What words divine of lover or of poet  
 Could tell our love and make thee know it,  
 Among the Nations bright beyond compare?  
 What were our lives without thee?  
 What all our lives to save thee?  
 We reck not what we gave thee;  
 We will not dare to doubt thee,  
 But ask whatever else, and we will dare!"

Can you not imagine the scornful curl of the lip with which the self-indulgent, easy-going pessimistic club man—and the self-indulgent man is wont to be pessimistic—would read those lines? That is surely a sentiment which kid glove and rose water critics of our republican institutions would not in the least understand; but thank God, there are tens of thousands of men and women in the broad land, South and North, East and West, who do understand it, and would utter it with brimming hearts and eyes. It will also be a fitting and welcome utterance for those Americans who come after us, if only we can lead them, following our example, to undertake in their time, the toil, and sacrifice, and struggle, which are needful to preserve what toil, and sacrifice, and struggle have won.

## HON. JOSEPH VAN CLIEF KARNES.

### “PRINCIPLE.”

One hundred and fourteen years ago to-day Cornwallis surrendered. Though definite articles were not signed until September 3, 1783, with this event the great victory had been won. King George refused to negotiate with the representatives of the Continental Congress, and said that “blows must decide,” and appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world as to the rectitude of their intentions, the issue tendered was accepted by our fathers. We have no record of a similar war. It had not a commercial feature connected with it. Notwithstanding the arraignment in the Declaration of Independence, yet viewed from the standpoint of the present, after the lapse of more than a century, when all passion has subsided, the conclusion is plain that a people of less earnest convictions could, without great sacrifice, have accommodated themselves to the demands of the mother country. Many of the disputes had yielded to petition or diplomacy. One by one the onerous duties had been removed, the stamp act was repealed, the right to quarter troops had been abandoned, England was ready to yield to everything except a surrender of the inherent right, as it claimed, to legislate for the Colonies. Threepence a pound upon tea was not a grievous burden, but it carried with

it a governmental principle of transcendent importance. Lord Mansfield, in expressing his opinion, said "The people of America are as bound to obey the acts of the British Parliament as the inhabitants of London or Middlesex." The demand of the King was, "that there should always be one tax, at least, to keep up the right of taxing." British statesmen of all schools claimed this right, and in the assertion of it the tax on tea was sustained. On the other hand the Colonists insisted that "by the theory of the British Constitution taxation and consent by representation are inseparable correlatives," and denied the unqualified authority of a legislature in which they were not represented. This contention was not confined to taxation alone, but extended to all legislation, thus making representation and legislation inseparable. The American Colonies had no representatives in the British Parliament, and hence the right of Parliament to legislate in any way affecting the Colonies was strenuously denied. Never was a line of battle more clearly drawn and the opposing forces represented the best of Saxon blood. The two special points in controversy were the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies, and the right to change their charters at pleasure. Lord North was willing to restore the charter of Massachusetts, but the King declared that rather than do so he would renounce the Colonies entirely. So all negotiations were focused on this one right of legislation. The colonies at one time would have been willing to have forgotten the past wrongs, but after Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill, they came to the throne, not on bended knee, but with an open demand for their rights. As has been strongly stated, "their vigorous vitality refused conformity to foreign laws and external rule." This was not through hatred of England, but because they loved truth the more. History does not warrant the assertion made by the English leaders that every demand made by the Colonies was only to prepare the way for independence. Had the right of local government been guaranteed to them, this whole land of ours would today be under the British flag.

The seven years of privation and hardship and blood were dedicated to one principle alone, and that was that all governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.

What has since followed in giving form and strength to the republic, has simply been an application of that principle. While upon such occasions as this we are recalling the wonderful achievements of our revolutionary ancestors, we should even more keep in mind the cardinal doctrine which vitalized their heroism, and in yielding veneration to their personality almost to the verge of ancestral worship, let our homage be still greater for the immortal doctrines which they declared. Men may come and men may go, but a great truth, like the brook, goes on forever.

Of the ultimate, full and complete realization of the doctrine that legislation and representation are inseparable, there ought to be no doubt. Wherever the voice of the people is heard at all the demand is loud and constant for an enlarged suffrage. No step has been, or ever will, be taken backward. Efforts may be made to deny representation to large classes of the people on the specious plea that the safety of society demands it. This may be promising in the bud, but in the blossom there lies political death. The measure of a nation is not the intelligence and virtue of the highest, nor that of the lowest, but it is represented by the general average. The purpose of government is the greatest good to the greatest number. The strong must help carry the weak, and thus the whole body politic be borne along. The law in its application touches each individual, and if he would be a free man, his contribution to the common intelligence, which finds expression in the law of the land, ought to be received. Take away from a man his voice in the government, and you have forged the first link in his chain of bondage. Make him a participant, and you place in his hand a weapon with which every aggression may be resisted.

This principle of the fathers of the Republic cannot be too clearly kept in view. I am no pessimist, but it is proper to observe the dangers that lie hidden along the line of the nation's progress. It may be that in conserving the material welfare, in enacting laws in the interests of property, the highest well-being of the individual has been subordinated. The immortal signers of the Declaration of Independence, looked alone to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It was to protect these that they

declared that representation should go hand in hand with legislation. Whatever policy makes the best men, irrespective of all other considerations, that is the line to follow.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

In the exercise of the franchise there is a consciousness of responsibility. The voter feels that he is a component part of the State. Its glory is his glory, and its honor is his honor. Restricted suffrage is simply oligarchy, and equally indefensible in principle. If we would follow the teachings of the fathers whose heroic deeds we to-night celebrate, the next step forward logically ought now be taken. Where theory leads, practice should follow. One-half of the people of this country, and certainly we will all agree the better half, just as amenable to the law as the other, stands without representation, and have the same grounds of complaint as did Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry and their compatriots of the Revolution. The intellectual inferiority of woman can be no longer urged. Oxford and Cambridge, Harvard and Columbia, and the other great universities are opening their doors for her full admission. Vassar and Smith, Wellesley and Barnard, in science, literature, philosophy, offer to her courses of study covering the widest range. Women are filling chairs in the best colleges in the land. They are in the pulpit, at the bar, in medicine. In the thousand school rooms the youth of the land are at her feet. She owns property and pays taxes. She is in the bank, counting room, the store, the office, and, best of all, she is in the home, the companion, the helpmeet, the thoughtful adviser of her husband, the instructor and guide of her children. They have lives to be protected, property interests to be guarded, personal rights to be guaranteed. When the colonists complained that they had no representatives in the English Parliament, Grenville's reply was, while they had no individual, they had a collective representation. Just so the slaves of the South had a supposed voice in Congress by the increased representation given to the master. That women are represented through and by the opposite sex is just as fallacious. In insisting upon the complete enforcement of the great cardinal principle of free government, I plead for no

"new woman," but for an intelligent, faithful, earnest American woman, knowing her rights and insisting upon them, loving her country and its institutions as she loves her home and her family. If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, why stand halting in the full application of this recognized, self-evident political truth?

What this country needs more than anything else today is more political courage, the revival of that love of principle, that spirit of martyrdom, that unyielding assertion of right possessed by the fathers of the Republic. It may well be doubted whether the present Boston, with her intimate trade relations with Great Britain, could be induced to throw ship loads of tea into the harbor whatever might be the provocation. The men who defied King George with all his mercenaries never counted the cost of a movement, or considered its expediency. It was then as it will ever be, that between right and wrong there is no ground of compromise, and standing on this rock they were unmoved by fear of the consequences. That dauntless courage, inflexible purpose, and rugged patriotism which characterized their every action needs to be cherished. If the spirit of '76 could possess the civilization of today, we would need no reform parties. It is now as it was then, the demand is for men to stand bravely out for the right, and while they may learn to speak the truth in love, always speak the truth. If the enemies that threaten our safety are to be destroyed, it must be done by brave men, strong in their faith, who love country above party, and who love manhood and womanhood more than hoarded gain.

Political bosses want to be dethroned, and all forms of defeating the will of the people rebuked and punished. Fraud upon the ballot box, the mouthpiece of the people, covert or open, aims at the life of the state, and should be classed as treason. To accomplish all this it will be necessary to lay aside our selfishness and cultivate a higher citizenship, form higher ideals of statesmen, and require a more faithful public service. This edifice of free government, with the will of the people as its corner-stone, is still building, and to give it strength and beauty and symmetry, calls for earnest, faithful work.

Its success depends not upon the results in material prosper-

ity—that has already been assured—but upon the intelligence and virtue of the people. Unless free government makes better men and better women, its mission has failed. For

“What constitutes a state?

Not high raised battlements or labored mound,

Thick wall or moated gate,

Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned,

Not bays and broad armed ports,

Where laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;

Not starred and spangled courts,

No: Men, high minded men,

Men, who their duties know,

But knowing their rights, and knowing, dare maintain—

These constitute a state.”

## HON. JAMES LAWRENCE BLAIR.

### “PATRIOTISM THE BEST LEGACY OF THE REVOLUTION.”

Permit me, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, to congratulate you upon the selection of this day as the time of your annual gathering. It is a day conspicuous in our country's annals; it is second only to that which commemorates the birth of our national independence; and it should ever stand as one of the liberty landmarks in the Nation's life; for if, on July 4th, 1776, the nation was born, it was on October 19th, 1781, that it emerged from the baptism of fire and blood which vindicated its right to a name and a place among the great family of nations.

One hundred and fourteen years ago, when the sun set on the field of Yorktown, the long struggle was ended—the fight was won. National independence was no longer a mere hope, embittered by long delay, but an accomplished fact; for when Lord North learned of the surrender of Cornwallis, he said: “It is all over.” And though there was afterwards some fighting, that striking picture of the British Commander delivering his sword, the emblem of his power, to Washington, was really the last scene in the great drama of the war, that war, unparalleled in bitterness, whose changing fortune had at length declared for the weak, but devoted patriots in their desperate struggle for principle against power, and which has added one more monu-



ment to that imperishable spirit of liberty which is the glory of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The story of the struggle for independence is one which we never tire of hearing. Its smallest details are hallowed to us by association with names which have become synonymous with the greatest virtues, and there is no true American but whose heart throbs when he reads again the impressive lines, written in blood and anguish, which tell of the privations and the death of those consecrated heroes who suffered and died that our country might live. The throes of that mighty contest, though more than one hundred years have passed since the last gun was fired, are felt to-day in the heart of every true citizen of the Republic. Who of us can read to-day of the calm and impressive bearing, the moral grandeur of Washington, in the anguish of soul which he endured in danger and defeat, without a thrill of pride in the thought that we have at least that in common with him that we, *too*, are Americans. Who can read of the daring deeds of Greene and Warren without being proud to be numbered among those for whom these valiant deeds were done. Who of us but exults while we recall the fortitude and valor of Putnam, of Stark and of Anthony Wayne, that in the achievements and above all, in the character of these men, we have our portion as joint heirs of the glories of the American Revolution.

But is not needful at this time that I should speak more in detail of these events. It is to the credit of American scholarship and educational institutions that the history of these times is so well preserved and is made one of the salient parts of the instruction of our youth, and the fact that I am here to-night to address this organization is of itself at once a reason for brevity and for congratulation, since our existence as a Society constitutes a guaranty of the perpetuation of the details of the great struggle for liberty. I count it one of the most assuring signs of the times that though more than a century has passed since these stirring events became history, the spirit which actuated our forefathers in the doing of these mighty deeds is still potent to honor and to immortalize the memory of those who did them.

But while we need not rehearse the oft-told story, it is well that we should consider what was the underlying thought, the motive which stirred men's souls so that they wrought these things; for it is not the deed itself, it is the spirit which prompts it that gives it value to humanity. We do not celebrate the victories of Alexander, of Cæsar, or of Napoleon, for theirs were mere wars for conquest, prompted by ambition, deluging the world with blood and working no good to the human race; but the defense of Thermopylae, the death of Arnold Winkelried, will be sung and praised so long as poets and historians shall live, because the spirit that was in these men was not the selfish greed of conquest, but steadfast devotion to principle and willingness to die in its behalf. In a word that motive was patriotism. And it is of this in its broader sense that I wish to speak tonight.

There are some words which we use so often that we do not fully appreciate their meaning. Patriotism is one of them. It is generally defined as love of country, and perhaps, if we understand that in its widest application, the definition will suffice. But in every-day life I fear that most of us restrict its meaning to the willingness to do battle for our country in case of need; I believe that this meaning, though one of its best, is by no means comprehensive. In its broadest sense patriotism means not only the willingness to die for one's country, but the willingness to live for it and to work for it. Countries, especially countries like ours, do not often need to be died for, but they do need to have all their citizens live their whole lives devoted to their country's interests. Laws, institutions, even individual virtues, will not suffice either to make or to preserve a commonwealth unless those laws and institutions be guarded with a jealous care, and unless those individual virtues be applied to public as well as private affairs. It is a hard saying, but it is true nevertheless, that many a man has one conscience in respect of his dealings with his fellow men and another in his dealings with the Government. Instances are not wanting where men of unimpeached, if not unimpeachable integrity in business, have not hesitated to smuggle merchandise through the customs, to vote for a back salary grab or a fraudulent subsidy, to draw an unearned pension, to reap the benefit of a more than doubtful Gov-

ernment contract, and to pay political debts by the gift of public office; in a word, we are all of us for the old flag, but there are a great many of us, too, who are for the old flag *and an appropriation*.

Now these things are not only dishonorable in themselves, but are they not essentially disloyal and unpatriotic? The Government and its agencies represent the Commonwealth and what more absurd than to say that one would die for the Commonwealth, yet he will rob it of what is its just due!

Again, our laws and our institutions are justly our chief pride. Yet of what value are these laws or institutions, of what permanence can they be unless we give them the time and attention, the capacity both of head and heart necessary to maintain them? The narrowest construction of patriotism is devotion to the institutions of the commonwealth; if devotion means anything, it means our best service; yet is it not true that while we are all ready to fight for our country, very few of us, and that few by no means the best qualified, are willing to serve her in any but the most exalted positions? And true as this is of our National Government, it is even more so of our states and municipalities. It is a notorious fact that the best men can rarely be induced to take part in the actual labor of government. Other things pay better, they say, and so they go on in the scramble for wealth and leave the business of government to venal politicians. And it is a fact equally notorious that a very large proportion of our people will not even take the trouble to register as voters, and if registered will not take the time to vote. As for participating in primaries and caucuses, the most important part of the whole system, a citizen who does that does it at the peril of being considered either a political trickster or a fool. And so, especially in our large cities, as the best men will neither hold office nor take the trouble to elect good officials, we find that the machinery of government is almost wholly in the hands of men of small capacity, and often, alas, of no character. These are facts which carry amazement to the minds of all intelligent foreigners who have studied our institutions, and which among others have led one of the most intelligent of these to declare that our whole system of government, so far as municipalities

are concerned, is a failure. They cannot understand a patriotism which will make men die in defense of the Union and yet refuse the small concession of time and trouble necessary to perfect and preserve its institutions.

I mention these few instances because I deem them typical of a condition of public morals amongst us which imperils the foundation of patriotism, for it has been well said that "Love of country alone is not able to maintain liberty. The people must be trained in the practical conduct of local government and animated by intelligent public spirit."

I am well aware that the excuse of most of us is that we haven't the time to give to public affairs. In other words, in the mad rush to turn every conceivable thing into money, we are sacrificing that for which our forefathers died and which came to us as a heritage upon the sacred condition that we preserve and honor these institutions in the same spirit in which they were founded.

The Nation is but an aggregation of individuals and the Commonwealth is but the united interests of all. Loyalty to the Commonwealth means loyalty to every part of it, from the Presidency of the United States to the pettiest municipal office. Civic pride, conscientious discharge of local political duty, are as essential to true patriotism as the larger sentiment which includes the whole Nation. I need not tell you that infidelity of the individual to the Commonwealth means its dissolution. The republics of Greece and Rome perished from the earth because venality and self interest sapped the patriotism of their citizens. The German Empire exists today because of the loyalty of its people not only to the "Fatherland," but to every city, town and hamlet in it; and the greatness of Great Britain is due in large measure to the fact that her people deem it an honor to serve her in office and are unsparing of their time and means in the maintenance of every one of her institutions. Englishmen are willing to serve their country not only at the cannon's mouth, but in Parliament, without pay, in municipal office or as country squire. We Americans seem to feel that when we have twisted the British lion's tail and made our American eagle scream we have done all that patriotism requires and can relegate the business of the

Government to men whom we would not deem fit to employ in any responsible business office.

Now is not this a back-sliding from the glorious precedents set by our forefathers, who not only fought in time of national peril, but who were also willing to sacrifice their personal interests in close attention to the details of government? They knew that a government is not a thing which will run itself; that it is a complicated machine which requires the closest study and most painstaking labor; and while no one will deny that the heroism which makes a man willing to die in battle is both good and great, yet the spirit that makes a man sacrifice his wealth, his prospects, his ease, and devote himself to the public service, is no small virtue. The history of the world would not be what it is were it not for the unseen heroisms; those which are not chronicled in books, but which have counted largely in the progress of humanity. The heroes of the Revolution are not all named in the roster of the American armies; and the patriotism which has inspired us for more than a century was found in many places other than the field of battle. Washington, the soldier, is no greater than Washington, the citizen, for it is one of the best attributes of that marvelous man, that he was as true to his country in the smallest detail of citizenship as in the bloodiest battle he ever fought. And to this fidelity, in both Washington and his associates, we are as much indebted for the success of our institutions after our liberty was won as we are for its achievement.

I would not have you think me despairing of the present or doubtful of the future. I know the hearts of the American people too well to believe that these evils are due to any but transient causes. I would but remind you that without eternal vigilance this fair fabric which we call our State cannot permanently endure; that while we have no battles to fight, no wilderness to reclaim and no states to found, we have a higher, nobler duty even than these. We are at once the trustees and the beneficiaries of the memory of the devoted dead and of the spirit of liberty for which they died. No self-glorification, no complacent self-satisfaction that we are the greatest and best of nations will keep us up to their lofty standard. Nations no more than men

are taken at their own estimate of themselves. Individual character, elevated public morals, honorable conduct, fidelity to these heroic ideals, local as well as national patriotism, all these are needful to discharge our trust and to cherish our inheritance; and this Society, tracing its lineage and as it does to the fountain head of our national life, is charged with a special mission; a mission in the fulfillment of which it will best refute that false charge that it is an effort to re-establish caste. That mission is to commemorate not only the names and the deeds of our heroic forefathers, but in our own lives to perpetuate their sturdy rectitude, their clean-handed public dealing, their fidelity to public trusts and that spirit of high endeavor which made them good soldiers, good citizens, and, best of all, good men. Our best heritage from them is not freedom, but those virtues, that exalted spirit, which we call patriotism, which alone makes men worthy to be free.



SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 16, A. D. 1896,

Commemorative

OF THE BIRTH OF

George Washington



First Congregational Church, Kansas City.

The Service will be Conducted by  
**REV. CLARENCE WALWORTH BACKUS, D. D.**  
*Kansas City Chapter Sons of the Revolution.*



A FORM  
OF  
TO  
ALMIGHTY GOD  
FOR  
THE BIRTH  
OF  
George Washington

SPECIALLY PREPARED FOR KANSAS CITY CHAPTER



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

KANSAS CITY.

Sunday the Sixteenth Day of February

THE Son of God goes forth to war,  
A kingly crown to gain;  
His blood-red banner streams afar:  
Who follows in his train?  
Who best can drink his cup of woe,  
And triumph over pain,  
Who patient bares his cross below—  
He follows in his train.

2. The martyr first, whose eagle eye  
Could pierce beyond the grave,  
Who saw his Master in the sky,  
And called on him to save:  
Like him, with pardon on his tongue,  
In midst of mortal pain,  
He prayed for them that did the wrong:  
Who follows in his train?
3. A glorious band, the chosen few,  
On whom the Spirit came:  
Twelve valiant saints, their hope they knew,  
And mock'd the cross and flame:  
They met the tyrant's brandish'd steel,  
The lion's gory mane;  
They bow'd their necks the death to feel:  
Who follows in their train?
4. A noble army, men and boys,  
The matron and the maid,  
Around the Saviour's throne rejoice,  
In robes of light array'd;  
They climb'd the steep ascent of heaven  
Through peril, toil, and pain:  
O God! to us may grace be given  
To follow in their train!

A FORM  
OF  
PRAISE AND THANKSGIVING.

O GOD, our help in ages past,  
Our hope for years to come,  
Our shelter from the stormy blast,  
And our eternal home.

Before the hills in order stood,  
Or earth received her frame,  
From everlasting thou art God,  
To endless years the same.

A thousand ages in thy sight  
Are like an evening gone,  
Short as the watch that ends the night  
Before the rising sun.

Time, like an ever-rolling stream,  
Bears all its sons away;  
They fly forgotten, as a dream  
Dies at the opening day.

O God, our help in ages past,  
Our hope for years to come,  
Be thou our guard while troubles last,  
And our eternal home.

THE LORD is in his Holy Temple; let all the earth  
keep silence before him.—*Habakkuk* ii. 20.  
We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers

have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old.—*Psalms* xlv. 1.

Blessed is the nation whose God is the LORD; and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance.—*Psalms* xxxiii. 12.

The LORD ordereth a good man's going, and maketh his way acceptable to himself.—*Psalms* xxxvii. 23.

Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity!—*Psalms* cxxxiii. 1.

The LORD be with you.

*Answer.* And with thy spirit.

*Minister.* Let us pray.

#### LORD'S PRAYER.

OUR Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, As it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

O Lord, open thou our lips.

*Answer.* And our mouth shall show forth thy praise.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

*Answer.* As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

*Minister.* Praise ye the Lord.

*Answer.* The Lord's Name be praised.

**O** PRAISE the Lord, for it is a good thing to sing praises unto our God; yea, a joyful and pleasant thing it is to be thankful.

2. The LORD doth build up Jerusalem, and gather together the outcasts of Israel.

3. He healeth those that are broken in heart, and giveth medicine to heal their sickness.

4. He telleth the number of the stars, and calleth them all by their names.

5. Great is our LORD, and great is his power; yea, and his wisdom is infinite.

6. The LORD setteth up the meek, and bringeth the ungodly down to the ground.

7. O sing unto the LORD with thanksgiving; sing praises upon the harp unto our God;

8. Who covereth the heaven with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth; and maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains, and herb for the use of men;

9. Who giveth fodder unto the cattle, and feedeth the young ravens that call upon him.

10. He hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse; neither delighteth he in any man's legs.

11. But the LORD's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy.

12. Praise the LORD, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Zion.

13. For he hath made fast the bars of thy gates, and hath blessed thy children within thee.

14. He maketh peace in thy borders, and filleth thee with the flour of wheat.

15. He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth, and his word runneth very swiftly.

16. He giveth snow like wool, and scattereth the hoar-frost like ashes.

17. He casteth forth his ice like morsels: who is able to abide his frost?

18. He sendeth out his word, and melteth them: he bloweth with his wind, and the waters flow.

19. He showeth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and ordinances unto Israel.

20. He hath not dealt so with any nation; neither have the heathen knowledge of his laws.

GLORIA PATRI.

EIGHTH CHAPTER OF THE  
BOOK DEUTERONOMY,

CANTATE DOMINO.

Apostle's Creed,

I BELIEVE in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth:

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord: Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary: Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead, and buried: He descended into hell; The third day he rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty: From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost: The Holy Catholic Church: The Communion of Saints: The Forgiveness of sins: The Resurrection of the body: And the Life everlasting. Amen.

The Lord be with you.

*Answer.* And with thy spirit.

*Minister.* Let us pray.

*A Collect for Peace.*

O GOD, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom; Defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies; that we, surely trusting in thy defence, may not fear the power of any adversaries, through the might of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

*A Prayer for the President of the United States and all in Civil Authority.*

O LORD, our heavenly Father, the high and mighty Ruler of the Universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee, with thy favour to behold and bless thy servant THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, and all others in authority, and so replenish them with the grace of thy Holy Spirit; that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way. Endue them plenteously with heavenly gifts; grant them in health and prosperity long to live; and finally, after this life, to attain everlasting joy and felicity; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O GOD, by whom the whole world is governed and preserved, we give Thee hearty thanks for the privilege of commemorating in Thy Holy Temple, with Praise and Thanksgiving the Birth of Thy servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, whose name Thou madest, throughout the world, a synonym for all that is best in human character and achievement.

We thank Thee that, having endowed him with every needed qualification of mind and heart and person, Thou didst especially train him for the great work which, in Thy far-seeing Providence, he was destined to perform; even the deliverance of this land from political oppression; and the founding of an Empire which now stretches from sea to sea; and exercises a potent, and every increasing, influence upon the nations of the earth.

We thank Thee that Thou didst cover his head in the day of battle; and protect him from the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the sickness that destroyeth in the noonday; that no weapon formed against him, was permitted to prosper; and that he was carried unscathed through innumerable dangers, to become the first Ruler of the people he had saved; and securely lay the foundations of our national Government.

We thank Thee that in his Administration of our civil affairs, he set an example of wisdom; prudence; incorruptible integrity; and forgetfulness of self, in his love for his country; and loyalty to his conscience, and his God: And we earnestly pray that his pure example at the beginning of our national life, may be more faithfully followed in the future than in the past; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

○ THOU who turnest the hearts of the children to the fathers, and has declared that the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, we thank Thee for the inspiration which called into exist-



ence the Society of the Sons of the Revolution; and the blessing which has hitherto attended it. And we pray Thee to continue to aid our Society in this, and succeeding generations, in the pious work of perpetuating the memory of the sacrifices, and sufferings, and valour of our fathers, through which our priceless heritage was won.

And finally, when we also shall have served Thee in our generation, may we be gathered unto our fathers, having the testimony of a good conscience; in favour with Thee our God, and in perfect charity with the world. All which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

*2 Corinthians xiii. 14.*

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. *Amen.*

TE DEUM.



*Here will follow the Sermon by the*

*Followed by*

THE ASCRIPTION ANTHEM.

Blessing, and glory, and wisdom. and thanksgiving, and honor, and power, and might, be unto our God forever and ever. *Amen.*

My country, 'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty,  
    Of thee I sing;  
Land where my fathers died,  
Land of the pilgrims' pride,  
From every mountain side  
    Let freedom ring.

O sons of noble sires,  
Who, through afflictions' fires,  
    To victory rode,  
Proud of the deeds they wrought,  
With countless blessings fraught,  
Cherish the land they bought,  
    The gift of God.

Our fathers' God, to thee,  
Author of liberty,  
    To thee I sing;  
Long may our land be bright  
With freedom's holy light;  
Protect us by thy might,  
    Great God, our King!

PRAISE God, from whom all blessings flow!  
    Praise Him, all creatures here below!  
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host!  
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost! Amen.

PRAYER AND BENEDICTION.

## RECESSIONAL.

God of our fathers,  
    Bless this our land;  
Ocean to ocean  
    Owneth Thy hand.  
Home of all nations  
    From far and near,  
Give, to unite us,  
    Thy faith and fear.  
God of our fathers,  
    Failing us never,  
God of our fathers,  
    Be ours forever.

Lord God of Sabaoth,  
    Mighty in war,  
Boundless and numberless  
    Thine armies are.  
Thy right hand conquereth  
    All that oppose;  
Launch forth Thy thunderbolts,  
    Smite down our foes;  
Lord God of Sabaoth,  
    Failing us never,  
Lord God of Sabaoth,  
    Fight for us ever.

Lord God our Saviour,  
    Thy love o'erflows,  
Making our wilderness  
    Bloom as the rose,  
Thou with true liberty  
    Makest us free,  
Knowing no master,  
    No king, but Thee;  
Lord God our Saviour,  
    Failing us never,  
Lord God our Saviour,  
    Reign Thou forever.

Spirit of unity,  
Crown of all kings,  
Find us a resting place  
Under thy wings:  
By Thine own presence  
Thy will be done,  
Millions of free men  
Banded as one.  
Lord God almighty,  
Failing us never,  
Thine be the glory,  
Now and forever.



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# ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

## Society Sons of the Revolution

IN THE STATE OF MISSOURI,

AT THEIR

ANNUAL MEETING, FEBRUARY 22, 1896,

SOUTHERN HOTEL, ST. LOUIS, MO.,

BY

Right Rev. DANIEL SYLVESTER TUTTLE, D. D., S. T. D.,

Rev. GEORGE EDWARD MARTIN, D. D.,

Hon. ISRAEL PUTNAM DANA,

Hon. DANIEL SMITH ALVORD,

Hon. SELDEN PALMER SPENCER,

Hon. ARTHUR LEE,

Dr. ROBERT CHILTON ATKINSON,

Prof. HALSEY COOLEY IVES.

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1896.





# ADDRESSES

DELIVERED AT THE

BANQUET,

SOUTHERN HOTEL, ST. LOUIS, MO.

FEBRUARY 22, 1896.

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## BISHOP TUTTLE.

*My Brothers, Fellow Members of the Missouri Society of the Sons of the Revolution:*

It is with pride and pleasure that I proceed to discharge the allotted duty with which I am honored, in saying "All hail" and "Welcome" to you to-night.

Pride, in knowing you to be worthy sons of worthy sires, whose memory you will not willingly let die; and pride, that you count yourselves in among those who, in tale of weight and measure, reckon the strength of self-sacrificing patriotism infinitely preferable to the sweetness of self aggrandizement and ease.

Pleasure, that in the urgent exactions of the busy nineteenth century and this busiest American life you are willing to turn aside a while and look into the past, and think and be thankful; and pleasure, that so many of you are gathered together, a goodly multitude, to join hands and bow heads and quicken heart throbs in love and loyalty to the country and the flag.

You may have been too polite to speak it out to me, but I am certain you want me to be a voice for you, to extend also the "All Hail" and "Welcome" to the ladies and other guests who have consented to grace this meeting with their attractive presence, and to cheer our hearts with a sense of comradeship and co-operation.

Dear ladies, our late Secretary Uhl was to be sent from the official family of our Department of State to be the United States Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Berlin. But ere he went certain preliminary inquiries were made of the august Kaiser whether he were a *persona grata*. Such inquiries

manifest the existence of a doubt, even in cases of the highest and most worthy of my own sex, as to their fitness and pleasingness for certain positions.

But I cannot think that my friend Wyman, of the Committee of Arrangements, even though conspicuously painstaking and watchful, or my friend Sloan, chairman of the Invitation Committee, resorted to any such preliminary questionings concerning you. They knew from their Latin grammars that "*persona*" is feminine, and therefore entitled to "*grata*" as its attendant adjective. We all assent to their findings and approve their decisions, and are ready to say, in Latin and English, in grammar and diplomacy, in solo and chorus, you are *personae gratæ, gratiores, gratissimæ* at this court.

Fellow Sons of the Revolution, our guests will pardon a bit of manifestation of vanity on the part of you and me. Our Missouri Society is only two years old. A year ago we were *one hundred and fifty-nine* in number. This year we are *three hundred and two*. So much may be said for the sturdy infant of two years' growth in quantity of arithmetical computation. For quality, I will not use adjectives or adverbs, superlative, but only bid you "*circumspicite*."

It is evident that much missionary work has been done. Many even in somnolent and apathetic St. Louis have taken a hand in that missionary work and done nobly. But a little town in the country outranks the metropolis far and high in this matter, for it is the home of him to whom the astonishing success is mostly due—our diligent, energetic, untiring, irrepressible Secretary.

Why, if five or six of us of sufficient muscularity could lay hold of his stout and sturdy frame and take him, *volens volens*, to the laboratory of some doctor or savant of our modern science, and secure the photograph on the sensitized plate of the inner physical being of that genial form, by the Roentgen, or X, or cathode rays. I do not say you would find the heart empty; nay, I believe it filled with kindly and unselfish and noble things; but I am strongly impressed with the conviction that in the very front of it, and on a scroll stretched in generous breadth from rib to rib, in letters too large for need of microscope or spectacles, you shall read, "The Missouri Society of the Sons of the Revolution. *Vigat adix. Exultior*."

The presentation of the flag touched my heart. Your hearts, too, I am sure, were touched and lifted. It is the symbol of our country. Of all earthly symbols we love and revere it most, save one, the Cross of Him who died that we may live. There are those who, like my friend at the right, General Henry of the United States Army, are charged, by their long training with the direct protection of the flag, in a nearer and more immediate sense than the rest of us. But, sir, you will allow us to come to your side, or close behind you, in undying love, and we hope in unselfish devotion, to the flag.

Our fathers helped to make it, in helping to make the country. But the one man who was pre-eminently the maker of it was he whose birth we celebrate this day.

May I not venture to promise, on behalf of the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, that, in all future generations, so long as human minds admire the noble, and human hearts love the unselfish, there shall not be wanting in America loyal men and devoted women, and enthusiastic boys and girls, to manifest their reverence and affection for the birthday of him who was the father of his country and the maker of the flag.

We Americans, proud as we are of the history of the past, do not, I think, ask to lord it over the other republics of the Western Continent; nor do we wish to take up an attitude of arrogant assumption, as that we are the protectors of these republics; that we are the only nation of this Western Continent to which can be accorded much consideration, or which may be regarded as a nation of worth and power.

No, we simply want and insist that the people of this continent shall have peaceful permission to follow out the developments of their national life as God's Providence and their own earnest and noble exertions fit them to do; and that this may go on, we simply claim as Americans, in the real interest of peace for future generations, and not in threat of war, that the great powers of Europe must be told that they cannot interfere.

England! Mother England! If we but go down deeper than words spoken by the lips, we shall find shut within the heart admiration and affection for her. We thank her for the English tongue, and the English Bible and for English law. We thank

her for Milton and Shakespeare, for Newton and Bacon. We thank her for Anglo-Saxon love of freedom, and Anglo-Saxon sense of duty, and Anglo-Saxon strength of control and self-reliance. Indeed, we greet her lovingly as the motherland, and we pray God to help her and help us that we may always be at peace together.

But she herself will not forbid such a body as this gathered here to-night from turning from her to greet our own country with "*O, pulchra matre filia pulchrior!*" And while we speak, we change the "*filia*" to "*mater*" and the "*pulchrior*" to "*pulcherrima*."

Our own country, mother near and dear! For thee and thy best and highest interest we want to live; and under the flag, the protecting agis of thy liberties, we want to die, when God calls us away from the sentry duty of this mysterious world.

## REV. GEO. EDWARD MARTIN, D. D.

### "THE REVOLUTION—MORE THAN A JUST REBELLION."

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:*

A scene in an early mellow New England summer comes to mind. A few lads, quite ready for their first swim of the season, are standing on the bank of a pleasant stream. The speaker, then a lively boy, is shivering before his leap into the running river; a playmate cries, "Plunge in, you will find the river broad and deep enough, and, when you are in, warm enough." Without any preface, I plunge into my subject; I shall find it deep and broad enough, and I trust its discussion may evoke some patriotic warmth in us all.

The American Revolution more than a just Rebellion? Yes, because it was an emphasis of a principle of life and progress, inherent in our creation in God's image, viz: Every man has a right to himself and the fruits of his labor, that he may be and become the best possible for himself and all others, with a due regard to the rights of others; or, more tersely stated, every man has a right to himself.

The Reformation, along religious lines, struck for and crystalized this principle of life. It was more than a just rebellion for it was a revolt of the individual against the crushing tyranny of an Ecclesiastical Institution. The finest and most resonant individual expression of the Reformation's gospel was the sturdy monk of Erfurt, single-handed and alone, before the blazing Diet of the German Empire. When retraction was demanded of him, he cried, "Here I stand; I cannot otherwise. God help me. Amen." These words, like a bugle call, awoke all sleeping Europe to the dawn of a better day, wherein man should enjoy a larger and better lease of life. Discipleship of Martin Luther, in the years succeeding his memorable stand for the rights of a man, has ripened into eras of human progress.

In political and social lines, the French Revolution reissued the gospel of the Reformation. It is not easy to speak in measured phrase of that sanguinary time. Readily Carlyle's acrid sarcasm comes to lip, in substance this, "That was a memorable night, when my lords spiritual and temporal and my parliament president abrogated their untenable rights, their seignorial fees, dues, tithes, and rents; laid them on the altar of their country's freedom, and, then, adjourned about three o'clock in the morning and struck the stars with their sublime heads." Yet it was a sublime thing, this public acknowledgement that the rebellious lower classes were right in striking for the fruits of their labor and the chance to enter upon the rivalry of life on the footing of equal political opportunity. Some one has spoken truly in saying, "The ruling classes in the French Revolution were at one and the same time the enemies and heirs of their own cause." Indeed, the strongest ally the struggling classes had was the awakened conscience of the upper ranks, who knew, in their own hearts, that the down-trodden were right. So, the French Revolution writes anew in choice blood that great verity the Reformation unfrocks into individual freedom from institutional despotism.

The American Revolution clothes this same truth in colonial uniform, and sends it out to another struggle and a memorable victory. What men the forefathers of the Revolutionary heroes were! It is no wonder great and heroic men grew from such stock. They left old England, which they loved with an English-

man's splendid obstinacy of affection, at a time, bidden to be prayed against, in the Good Book, as a time for flight, the inclement winter, in a little vessel, unchartered, ridiculed and unblessed. When, in the stuffy cabin of the Mayflower, and the moral ozone of a new world, these prophetic men drew up the first instrument of Constitutional Liberty ever known, they laid down the fighting chart by which themselves and those to come should strike for a man's right to himself that he might be the most and best for others. That "sifted seed of three kingdoms," so largely sown on Burial Hill, became a strong growth on many a battle field, and bore fruit at Yorktown.

At its date, the American Revolution was possibly the most tremendous and triumphant declaration of that for which Martin Luther faced the Diet of Worms and the streets of Paris ran prophetic blood. As a struggle it began back in the Saxon forests, when our ancient ancestors fought for their rights under stout Arminius against Roman tyranny; was continued on Runnymede Meadow, when aroused English barons wrested Magna Charta from a reluctant king; at Lewes and famous Naseby, on the Plains of Abraham, and, at last, was crowned at Yorktown with victory. Washington was the flower of De Montfort, Cromwell and Chatham.

Not long ago men, who are here to-night, and their fathers, fought for a full writing of that which the Revolution but partly decreed. A twilight nation, four millions, prophetically strong and weak, was made free, and now, every man under the Stars and Stripes has a right, unshackled, to work out his own salvation.

Battle fields for this great legacy our fathers have bequeathed to us from struggle and sacrifice, are not to be on plain or hill, where literal war shall ruin the crops that are, or fearfully fertilize the earth for future harvest of graves and broken hearts. We are not called to rip up the earth with the enginery of war, that leaves behind bad years. We will not fight on ocean or river, which may blush for shame of us, as we spill our brother's blood; but in legislative halls and around council tables we are called to battle for that which our fathers won and entrusted to our care. Here is our Lexington Green, our Concord Bridge, our Boston Heights, our Bunker Hill, our Saratoga and Bennington, our Yorktown, —yes, our Appomattox.

While the conditions of the struggle for us are cosmopolitan, yet there is a hopeful sense in which Plymouth Rock rock-ribs and back-bones this nation. No sword to-day is big enough to master the world, no standing army big enough to threaten the peace of the world, yet the spirit of the American Revolution to-day is potent enough to rule a mighty nation and, if need be, protect a continent.

Sons of the Revolution, while our loyal memories this night beat the old colonial drums and wave the ancient banners we have learned to revere, let us, above all, bear in mind the splendidly obvious fact that now our defense and assertion of the principle for which the men in buff and blue lived, fought and died must be along moral lines; so far have we come and so high as a nation, that henceforth our supreme inspiration in any toil or battle for the weal of the American must rest in the conviction that God cares. This assurance will lend dignity to our zeal, solemnity to our struggles, and an almost infinite sacredness to our sacrifices. Somewhere, Whittier says:

“Our fathers to their graves have gone;  
 Their strife is past, their triumph won;  
 But sterner trials wait the race  
 Which rises in their honored place,—  
 A moral warfare with the crime  
 And folly of an evil time.  
 So let it be, in God’s own might  
 We gird us for the coming fight,  
 And, strong in Him, whose cause is ours  
 In conflict with unholy powers,  
 We grasp the weapons He has given—  
 The Light, and Truth, and Love of Heaven.”

To which I add,—

Ah, those men of early days,  
 With their puritanic ways,  
     Stern and straight;  
 On, from hill of graves they went,  
 By Jehovah’s order sent,  
     To their fate.

In our Nation’s darkened prime,  
 In that deep prophetic time,  
     Those who led  
 Feared no Master but their God,  
 And they hallowed every soul  
     Where they bled.

On the heights of fame they stand,  
 A devoted God-owned band,  
     Speaking clear  
 To the men of their own blood,  
 As they stem an evil flood,  
     Without fear.

“Honor us, who fought and died,  
 That in you we might have pride,  
     As you fight  
 That there never may be dearth,  
 Of the right, that comes with birth,  
     In our sight.”

## ISRAEL PUTNAM DANA, Esq.

### “WASHINGTON—WITH THE SURVEYOR’S CHAIN.”

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :*

After his father was beheaded at Whitehall, Charles II., while awaiting his opportunity to gain the throne of England, held a mimic, movable court in France and the Netherlands. Although an exile and without a kingdom he dispensed royal favors, and in 1649, at St. Germain, granted to one of his courtiers, Lord Culpepper, a tract of land in the American colonies described as the Northern Neck of Virginia. It was indeed a royal gift, for it embraced all the land between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, running westerly beyond the Blue Ridge and including most of the Shenandoah Valley. A domain of nearly six million acres; larger than the entire state of Massachusetts! But the English monarchs were prodigal in those days in disposing of American territory, for you will remember that King James I. gave the London Company, by charter, a sea front of 400 miles—200 miles north and 200 miles south of Point Comfort—all islands within 100 miles of the coast, and all the country back from this 400 miles of frontage “throughout from sea to sea.” The “Monroe doctrine” had not then been heard from!

Sixty years after the Northern Neck was granted to Lord Culpepper it passed by inheritance to his grandson Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, who in 1739 first visited the estate. So delighted



was he with the climate and scenery of the country, with the cordiality and frankness of the Virginians and their independent life, that, after arranging his affairs in England, he returned to the colony in 1747 to make it his home and to end his days there. He was an interesting personage and destined to exert a great influence on the life of him, the anniversary of whose birth we celebrate to-night. At the time of which I speak Lord Fairfax was over fifty years of age and of commanding appearance; a graduate of Oxford, he had contributed to Addison's "Spectator," and associated with the best society of Europe and its famous authors; he was accomplished in all the field sports of the day and when younger held a commission in a crack British regiment of horse; of great wealth, he was also of famous lineage, for he had succeeded by right of birth to the title of that Lord Fairfax, whose conservative and yet vigorous conduct in support of Parliament in its struggle with the first Charles entitled him to rank among the most worthy of English soldiers and patriots.

Lord Fairfax remained for some time with his cousin, William Fairfax, at Belvoir, the latter's plantation on the Potomac near Mt. Vernon, and there he became acquainted with the neighboring families. A frequent and welcome visitor at the plantation was a tall, athletic youth, whose manly self-control and modest frankness evinced a character of great promise and made him a favorite with the Fairfax family, into which his half-brother had married.

This youth was our Washington at fifteen. He had mastered the "three Rs" under the parish sexton, Hobby, in the "old field schoolhouse;" had escaped entering the navy through his mother's good judgment and had completed a plain and practical education under the tuition of a local teacher, giving especial attention to surveying, the theory and practice of which he thoroughly understood. An accomplished horseman and skilled in the pursuit of game, he became the chosen companion of Lord Fairfax, who was an enthusiastic hunter, and they remained fast friends throughout the latter's life. Their experiences in the chase displayed the vigor, coolness, activity and courage of the youth, and these qualities, together with his skill as a surveyor and his thoroughness and accuracy in every undertaking, led the

English lord to engage the young man in the important work of surveying the more remote portion of his estates, particularly that beyond the Blue Ridge, which had never been surveyed or regularly settled and of which but little was known.

Thus it came about that, in March, 1748, within a month after his sixteenth birthday, Washington started with quadrant and chain to survey a vast, unexplored territory, which was still the home of the red man. For three years he continued in this occupation, returning occasionally to Mt. Vernon, but spending most of his leisure at Greenway Court, the name given by Lord Fairfax to the country seat which he had established on a beautiful site in the Shenandoah Valley, about ten miles from the present city of Winchester.

Of the details of Washington's experiences during these three years history tells us little. We learn that early in the period he was appointed public surveyor, which entitled his surveys to be recorded, and his services were in great demand; that when actively employed he received from a doubloon to six pistoles (\$15 to \$20) per day; that he explored and surveyed and platted vast tracts of land, much of it wilderness, living constantly for months at a time out of doors, taking toilsome tramps into the mountains, inuring himself to hardships of all kinds and gaining an intimate acquaintance with the nature of the country and of the Indians, woodsmen and few settlers whom he met there.

But it was not all hard work or prose, for occasional letters, and even his note books, contained evidence that he carried into the wilderness tender feelings for some fair but unresponsive Virginian, and without doubt, as the young surveyor looked up at the stars from beside his camp fire or ate his noonday lunch by some clear mountain stream, the angles and tangents, sines and cosines of his profession faded into such delightful dreams as even unrequited affection inspires in a generous nature.

Then during the inclement season, when work was impracticable, Greenway Court and its master welcomed him to their hospitality. What pleasure and benefit he must have found there! In the conversation of Fairfax, whose education and accomplishments and knowledge of the world furnished such a contrast to his surroundings; and in the books which he had brought into the

wilderness ; and in the field sports, where English lord and provincial surveyor forgot all differences of position or attainments in the excitement of the chase.

Such, briefly outlined, is the story of Washington's three years with the surveyor's chain. They were years of hard physical toil and self-denial, with little, apparently, to arouse enthusiasm or develop heroism ; and yet I believe no other three years of his life did more to form the character which made him the greatest of Americans, or are more truly typical of a career full of great achievements.

In this undertaking, as when five years afterwards he was sent on a mission to the Ohio Indians, and in 1775, when he was called to lead the Continental armies, and again in 1789, when he was inaugurated First President of the United States, his duty took him upon unknown and untried ground. He found no corners marked or boundaries run, but on him it devolved, in surveying the wilds of Virginia, as in directing the development of our government under the Constitution, to fix courses and establish monuments for succeeding generations. As Surveyor, as General, as Chief Executive of the Nation, he was a pioneer.

The devotion and success with which he led the armies and builded the State are known to each of us and to all the world. But he was no less faithful or successful when, as a lad, he toiled over the rugged mountains and through the untrodden forests of Virginia, carrying the surveyor's chain : for so invariably correct have his surveys of that territory been found that the records thereof receive implicit credit to this day.

The experience of those three years must have exerted a deep and wide influence upon Washington's character. The unshared responsibility of this, his first public work (great for his years), cultivated that self-reliance, strong but modest, which marked his discharge of every public trust ; this, his first experience in the actual control and direction of men, aided the development of that firmness, sagacity and moderation which made him a great leader ; his conscientious professional pride in doing "good work" stimulated and strengthened that unfaltering courage under adversity, and enduring patience in getting to the right of the matter, whatever it might be, and doing it, which to my

mind were the pre-eminent virtues of our greatest citizen.

“Endurance is the crowning quality  
And patience all the passion of great hearts.”

No doubt the young surveyor's assistants criticised at times and murmured and complained, as perhaps we would have done, at the painstaking accuracy which he insisted must be observed, and which he observed himself, in every detail of their work, no matter what the cold or wet or other obstacle. A few feet this way, or a few that, seemed to them a small thing in a great wilderness. But then, as ever to Washington, in small things as in great, the controlling question was,—where lies the right? And his answer,—there set the quadrant, and thence run the chain.

“Who hath despised the day of small things? They shall rejoice and shall see the plummet in the hands of Zerubbabel.”

## **HON. DANIEL SMITH ALVORD.**

### **“WASHINGTON—THE FIRST PRESIDENT, BLAZING THE TRAIL OF PATRIOTIC DUTY.”**

Washington the surveyor penetrated trackless forests and explored mountain ranges, but he had a Gunter to tell him how to do it. Washington the farmer was born of a family and was reared in a community of agriculturists, and from childhood had constantly before him examples of how best to bring forth from mother earth her choicest productions. Washington the soldier, in his immortal campaigns in the Jerseys, had a Fabius who balked the conquering legions of Hannibal for a model, and in his last glorious campaign, which culminated in the capture of Yorktown, he need but have followed in the footsteps of a Conde and a Turenne. Washington as President of the Constitutional Convention had his manual.

But Washington as First President of the United States blazing a track of patriotic duty, launched forth upon a trackless sea with no precedent to follow and no compass to guide his course. He was called upon to set in motion the machinery of a government that had no parallel in ancient or modern history. He was

called upon to establish administrative lines under a Constitution then recently adopted by thirteen colonies, each one of which was jealous of the other and each one jealous of the whole. He was called upon to establish a line of demarcation between the sovereignty of the states and the nation, the solution of which was so difficult that it became a subject of heated controversy in the forum and on the rostrum for generations to follow. The line he did so establish was afterwards approved by the greatest jurist among English-speaking people, John Marshall, of Virginia, and further, the same was endorsed by that prince of statesmen and logicians, Daniel Webster, in his memorable rejoinder to Hayne. And above all and before all, the position he assumed on this mooted question was approved by the inexorable logic, born of the result of the bloodiest, costliest and most gigantic war in recorded history, from Herodotus to the present day.

It came to Washington to inherit from the predecessor of the young republic, the Colonial Confederacy, a bankrupt treasury, and a financial system that had destroyed the credit of the nation at home and abroad, and failed to furnish the people with an adequate circulating medium. He established a financial system that in its essential qualities remains in force even unto this day. A system that restored the credit of the nation at home and abroad, and gave the people an ample circulating medium—a system that received the encomiums of financiers everywhere, and above all and before all a system which declared to the world that repudiation, in whole or in part, was the gravest of offenses in a nation, as it is in an individual. He found our foreign relations in an almost inextricable confusion. On the one hand he had to deal with the jealous, treacherous and hostile George the Third ; on the other hand to deal with France, while she was in the midst of a bloody revolution—a godless, merciless, lawless revolution. He had to deal with this nation who seemed to think that because she aided us in the hour of our need, she had a right to tyrannize over us in the hour of our birth-throes.

Of all the qualities that give power in man to make and unmake nations, to secure imperishable reforms, or to produce great results in the affairs of men, those attributes that enter into and form great and exalted characters are the most vital and potent.

Washington possessed these attributes in the highest degree.

Tell me not that the great measures of the Washington administration was due alone to the genius of Alexander Hamilton or the statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson. History does, and ever will, give to these two distinguished men their just dues for their eminent service in the Washington cabinet. But had it not been for the trust and confidence of the American people in the great and exalted character of George Washington, these great measures of the Washington administration could never have been successfully carried into execution.

The American people, contemplating this great character, which stood before them like a monument of adamant on the plain, believed in it and trusted it. And this trust and belief enabled "The Father of his Country" to take hold of the helm of the ship of state, and guide her safely through the breakers and dangers that surrounded her, and which enabled him at the close of his administration to transfer that helm to his successor in a placid sea of harmony and good will.

And now, in conclusion, may we all express the wish that we and our posterity shall ever continue to entertain that same trust and confidence in the wisdom of the teachings of him who was "First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

## **HON. SELDEN PALMER SPENCER.**

### **"WASHINGTON THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787."**

It seems almost incredible to us at this day that there could ever have been a time in the history of our government when the propriety and desirability of establishing an American nation on this continent to take, as a Federal power, its high place among the nations of the Earth could have been seriously doubted and yet, fearful as we now know would have been the result of a separation of the States, there were men at the close of the Revolution—brave men, patriotic men—who had little confidence in a union of the several commonwealths, and who desired much more their entire separation or at least the establishment of two or three distinct nations along the Atlantic seaboard.

Carolínians were content to remain Carolínians. Virginians were satisfied with the pride of their own commonwealth. New Yorkers had no higher ideal of national life than that found in their own state. The entire people found, after the war of the Revolution which had bound them together in a common cause, was ended that the differences in race and in religious belief—Catholics of Maryland, Quakers of Pennsylvania and Baptists of Rhode Island—tended rather to separate than to unite them.

The Continental Congress, unable to control commerce and without the power to enforce taxation, was not only impotent at home but was the jest of all Europe. Meeting now at one place and now at another, and losing dignity and prestige at every migration it was a pronounced and a decided failure. All Europe waited in sad expectancy to see these colonies, whose independence had been so dearly won, disintegrate because of internal dissension. Men brave enough to tear their country from England's greedy grasp were unable to rule the land which they had won. Washington, writing to a friend at this time, might well say: "My grief at the death of General Green is lessened now, for he is far better dead than living to see our nation in such a plight as this and to behold a future which we may yet bemoan."

It was at such a crisis in our national life when the Convention—largely possible by Washington's efforts—met in Philadelphia, in 1787, to agree, if agree they could, upon some form of permanent government. No man was mentioned to preside over the important gathering save Washington. No man could be thought of at such a time but he whose loyalty to his country stood above question; he who, when his soldiers were ready and able and eager to make him king, refused with scorn the offer of sovereign power preferring rather to be a citizen of a free country than a ruler over a subject people.

The records of that Convention show that Washington took but little active part in its deliberations. Once he spoke during the earlier days of the session, and then when men were proposing unstable and unsafe compromises because of the fear that their several constituencies, proud of their State's rights, would consent to nothing better, Washington—from Virginia—hushing the deliberations of the assembly for a moment rose from the

president's chair and said : " It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair—the event is in the hand of God."

With these words he set the mark, he raised the standard, he pitched the tune that rang through all the future sessions of that Convention, and gave us the Federal Constitution under whose strong and beneficent rule we now live.

We may well ask ourselves what made Washington, unaccustomed as he was to legislative life, the great power in that assembly? It was his undying loyalty to the Union. It was that same unimpeachable integrity which so characterized General Reed, of Pennsylvania, who, when the emissaries of England offered him 10,000 guineas and high honors to betray his trust, made this reply : " I am not worth the purchasing, but such as I am, Great Britain's king is not rich enough to buy me."

It was the same intelligence and tact that was so conspicuous in the life of Benjamin Franklin. Diplomatic history records that when present at a State dinner in a German capital, where each ambassador was requested to propose a toast to his own government, and the English ambassador had proposed a toast to England : " Who like the sun shines in power and beauty upon the whole earth," and the French ambassador had proposed a toast to France : " Who like the moon makes even the darkness of the night lovely with its radiance," Franklin was called upon. What could he say after such extravagant illustrations? The company was hushed in expectation, when, with a smile upon his face and lifting his glass from the table, he proposed the toast to the United States of America, " Who, when occasion requires, like Joshua of old, commands the sun and the moon to stand still, and they obey."

It was such patriotism, such honesty, such intelligent tact combined in Washington as in no other single man that made him the guiding and molding, though almost silent power of that great Convention.

When the last names were being affixed to the Constitution,



Benjamin Franklin remarked to those standing near, as he pointed to a picture representing the sun half hidden by the horizon, which hung behind the President's chair : " I have often and often in the course of the session, and in the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun, without being able to tell what the painter intended, but now in the light of this Constitution I have at length the happiness to know that it is a rising, and not a setting sun."

What was his prophesy then we know is a glorious reality now and while we are enjoying the rich blessings of that risen sun we see it still advancing in magnificent grandeur toward its zenith power in a course so wonderful that the nations of the earth are dazzled with its brilliancy and yet so sure that nothing but the unworthiness or indifference of its beneficiaries can ever mar its lustre or hinder its progress.

## MR. ARTHUR LEE.

### "WASHINGTON—AT MT. VERNON."

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :*

It is as I realize a trial to you, as it is so clearly a hard fate for me, that you should be compelled to listen to what I have to say, immediately after your ears have been enchanted by the sweet song so charmingly rendered by the lady who has preceded me.

Washington was so much a type and embodiment of patriotism during our struggle for independence, that his name alone brings up before us with a freshness almost personal the hopes and anxieties, sufferings and triumphs of the founders of the Republic. When his name is coupled with Mt. Vernon the theme and lesson of patriotism seem suggested with especial emphasis. Of all the motives which led to the fight against England, love of country in its broadest, but in its primitive sense as well, was the feeling which chiefly animated Washington, and love of country has its origin in love of home. In all ages the invocation of patriotism has been by an appeal to this feeling, to the Lares and Penates, the household gods, the fireside, the home.

The patriotism of Washington may be likened to a giant oak.

Its stalwart branches spread over and protected impartially the whole country, but its deepest and tenderest roots were at Mt. Vernon. Every other sentiment and impulse, intellectual and moral gift required in that struggle by our leader seem to have been his, and each was ready when the emergency called for it, but they were all enlisted in the public service by his controlling love of country. Patriotism was exalted and universal in every section of the country where the cause of Independence had adherents and evinced various admirable and useful characteristics in different parts of the land, but I think that this love of country, in its primitive sense, had a peculiar and distinguishing phase of its own in the colony and class from which Washington sprang. Virginia was a loyal colony by history and tradition, and was proud of its loyalty. It had been settled in large part by the followers of Charles I. and Charles II. Cavaliers of rank and consequence had immigrated there, and even among those who occupied a subordinate rank were sixteen hundred and ten loyalist followers of Charles II., who were made prisoners at the battle of Worcester by Cromwell and sent to Virginia, both as punishment for their rising against the Commonwealth and because their remaining in England might be a menace to the Government. The title of "Old Dominion," its motto, "*En Virginia dat Quintam*," were boasts of loyalty and reminders that Charles II. had been proclaimed King in Virginia before he had been restored to his throne in England. The fox-hunting Virginia planter, glorying in the courage, endurance and sacrifices of his ancestors in the struggles, not only against innovation in Church and State, but also in favor of the King against Parliament, was not likely to disturb himself about theories of government in regard to laws having the approval of both Crown and Parliament, which worked no greater oppression or personal inconvenience than the Stamp Act and the light tax on tea, but when these acts first provoked discussion and resistance in the "cradle of liberty"—Boston—leading to the ultimate closing of that port, the sympathetic feeling of patriotism in behalf of fellow Americans of the North against the Government beyond the ocean was thoroughly aroused in Virginia, and she came with voice, pen and sword, and with an unanimity not surpassed elsewhere to the assistance, as her House of Bur-

gesses termed it, of "The much injured Colony of Massachusetts Bay." This luxuriant, generous and lovely patriotism, as an outgrowth from love of home and Colony, was by no one better illustrated than by Washington in his deeds, career and counsel, and as no one exceeded him in patriotism, so there is ample testimony that he had few rivals and no superior in love of home. He inherited Mt. Vernon from his brother Lawrence when he had barely attained his majority. His early wedded life was spent there and it was his home always, from the time he acquired it until his death, except when engaged elsewhere in the public service in his numerous employments from Commander of the forces of the Colony to President of the United States. He always longed to return to it when public duty would permit, and said the searcher of hearts was a witness that he had no wishes which aspired beyond the happy lot of living and dying a private citizen at Mt. Vernon. During the Revolution he carried with him a plat of the 8,000 acres of the Mt. Vernon estate and kept himself always informed of the work done on each one of its farms, and knew what fields were being tilled and what crops were being raised on every field of every farm. He improved and added to the mansion, laid out roads and paths, planted trees, shrubs and flowers, introduced animals of better pedigree and greater usefulness than had before been known in this country, invented a plow for cultivating his fields, and showed generally the keenest interest in all that concerned his home and the broad acres that were embraced within it. His love of home, however, though so intense, was subordinate to his love of country, his sense of duty and honor, and his regard for the example he felt he should always give the country. Of this we have an interesting illustration: During the Revolution a British man-of-war came up the Potomac and anchored near Mt. Vernon. Washington, of course, was then absent in command of the Continental forces. His manager, desiring to propitiate the enemy, not only for the safety which he hoped thereby to secure to General Washington's estate, but also because he had property of his own in the vicinity, visited the man-of-war and carried refreshments to the British officers. When Washington heard of this his indignation was unbounded. He wrote a letter to his manager full of that vigorous and condensed expression of which

he had such command, showed his just wrath that the manager had, as he expressed it, "communed with a parcel of scoundrels," and added, "It would have been less painful to me had they burned my house and laid my plantation in ruins." And still it is sometimes said that George Washington was an Englishman. Certainly he did not feel himself to be an Englishman when so speaking of English officers, and did not regard the Englishmen as countrymen of his during the Revolutionary struggle. It will be a sad day for America, a fateful augury for the Republic, when Americans cease to regard him as the "First Great American," and fail to appreciate and admire in its full measure the glorious character of Washington, or in any way disturb the apotheosis made of him in his lifetime by our forefathers. Other great Americans have followed him and are entitled to our love and gratitude, but unless we are to be false to the noblest traditions and highest standards of our country, he will always retain his grand pre-eminence far above all others in the pantheon dedicated to the worship of American heroes. Of course England is glad to claim him. Alison, in speaking of him as "the most spotless character in history," says: "It is the greatest glory of England to have given birth in transatlantic wilds to such a man." While we welcome this admiration from abroad and are grateful for it, we must still claim Washington as our own and hold him up forever to the veneration and imitation of all succeeding generations of his countrymen. The life at Mt. Vernon did much to develop in Washington those qualities which were afterwards so useful to his country. The detailed management which he applied with such minuteness and such untiring zeal to all his duties as Commander-in-Chief of the American forces had their training, in large part, in the regular course of duties connected with the care of his estate. A country property could not have been managed with more exactness. His recreations there did much to produce that hardy constitution and strength of body and vigor of mind which rendered in the field such inestimable services to his country. He kept until a few years before his death a fine kennel of hounds. Prior to the Revolution they were English hounds. After the Revolution they were French stag hounds. Before the Revolution, during the hunting season, it was his custom to follow the hounds three times a week.

Roads were cut through the woods which could be taken by the ladies and by such of the men as did not care to take the greater perils of the chase, but Washington always followed the hounds through the brush and woods, over the fences and through the roughest country. It was this training that enabled him to bear all the hardships, anxieties and responsibilities of the Revolutionary struggle, and gave him the frame and endurance which enabled him to meet the enemy in front, and cabals and treason all around him. It was such training, cultivating his native daring, which led him to dash his charger on the British guns at Trenton and made him such a horseman as to deserve the superlative praise of Jefferson in this respect, that he was the most superb figure on horseback he had ever seen. His very appearance riding among his troops must have inspired a confidence and a courage whose value it is difficult to limit.

Washington, himself, added the library to the mansion at Mt. Vernon. It contained, at the time of his death, it is estimated, about one thousand volumes. There were works of great variety among them; a large portion devoted to farming, agriculture, horticulture, forestry and other subjects useful in farming, but an especially large proportion of them were works of history and of a politico-economical value of such character as might be useful to Washington in directing and counselling in public affairs. Even when not in public employment, he was constantly gathering that "solid information" for which Patrick Henry says he was distinguished above all others, and preparing himself for that species of paternal guardianship which he exercised over the whole country. He knew with what voice potential he spoke upon public matters, and he wished his advice to be sound and useful. It was from Mt. Vernon that he sent out his circular-letter to the Governors of all the States in regard to the necessity for the constitutional convention.

His household life furnishes a beautiful example of domestic tenderness and duty. He was as dutiful and as good as a husband and as a father to his adopted children as he had been loving, obedient and good as a son. One slight evidence of his filial piety is the rosebush planted by him at Mt. Vernon and named by him after his mother.

Not to detain you at this late hour with details of Washington's home life, there is one glimpse of it as an example of much of the same sort which strikes me as peculiarly attractive and as illustrating his ever present sense of justice and duty, his famous character for truth, his tenderness and dignity. When Nelly Custis, Mrs. Washington's granddaughter, was a young woman, her grandmother had forbidden her to walk in the woods alone. At this time she was receiving the attentions of some gentleman, I think Carroll of Carrollton. She entered a room upon one occasion where General and Mrs. Washington were, and her grandmother asked her if she had been walking in the woods alone; she admitted that she had been. Her grandmother reprimanded her severely for disobeying her commands. Washington, in order probably to divert and alleviate the scolding by a remark in the way of pleasantry, said: "It may be she has not been alone." She turned to him and said, "Sir, you have always taught me to speak the truth." The old man, sympathizing with her sensitiveness upon this supposed imputation on her veracity, and realizing the injustice he seemed to have done her, arose from his chair to his full height of six feet three inches, made her a stately bow and said, "My dear, I beg your pardon."

His hospitality was unlimited. He spoke of Mt. Vernon as a "well resorted tavern," and said that for twenty years the family had not dined alone. It was, in fact, frequented from every quarter of the world by those who were enthusiasts in the cause which he represented and desired to lay their eyes upon and pay homage to him whom Lafayette styled "The Generalissimo of Liberty." It was the asylum, too, in instances, of those generous Frenchmen who had aided us in our struggle for independence, and of their children, who had been driven from France by the horrors of the French Revolution. Lafayette's son spent two years there.

The history of Washington's private life is really a part of the public history and everything that pertains to it is national in its character. Our Right Reverend Chairman has aptly said that Washington was "the maker of our flag." Indeed, in a sense he was, as he was the architect of the Republic. Without the skill of the American Fabius in the conduct of military affairs and his states-

manlike care and foresight in starting the ship of state in constitutional channels, it is hard to say what would have been the fate of our early efforts at establishing a nation. But it is not by mere metaphor alone that we can speak of Washington as the maker of our flag. He would have suggested nothing to his own glorification in connection with it, but the gratitude, devotion and reverence of our ancestors adopted the flag around which they were to hover, and which was ever to be dear to their descendants, from the Washington coat-of-arms.

When we realize the unparalleled greatness of Washington, his unselfish devotion to the country, his integrity, his truth, his far-sighted wisdom and his usefulness of which our country in particular, but all mankind in a degree, has the benefit and the example, when we remember what an august, high-minded, high-souled, true-hearted man he was, and our inestimable obligations to him, and know that Mt. Vernon was the scene of so much that was endearing and ennobling in his career, our confidence in our countrymen assures us that it will ever remain the Mecca of American patriots. Surely, to the Sons of the Revolution, above all others, the spot which was the beloved home of the Father of his country, and where his sacred ashes repose, will always be holy ground.

## **DR. ROBERT CHILTON ATKINSON.**

### **"THE SPIRIT OF '76. IT IS NOT DEAD BUT SLEEPETH."**

The chief object of this Association is to perpetuate the memory of the sleeping immortals, and by holding them up continuously as great and splendid examples, to promote the spread and endurance of a patriotic ardor throughout the land, and if possible to the latest generation. It has been written that, "the history of the world is the biography of its great men." Mindful of that fact, we propose to do our part in the teaching of history, by a religious devotion to the memories of those who lived and died to establish civil and religious liberty in the land for themselves and the millions to come after them. We value beyond price the heritage they have bequeathed us, and I believe that we are will-

ing and ready in our humble way to follow in the footsteps they have trod. Material prosperity, with its attendant ease and security, seems to lull into peaceful repose all the warlike spirit in man : "when grim visage war has smoothed his wrinkled front" and "bruised arms are hung up for monuments" we are more disposed to listen "to the lascivious pleasings of the lute" than to conform in either thought or habit to the rugged simplicity of "those times which tried men's souls." Nations illustrious for warlike prowess, whose very names were synonyms for war, whose warlike deeds had conquered half the world, have themselves been subjected by their own conquests and become supinely inactive under the siren influence of accumulated luxuries. This is a truth of history. So the people of the United States have so successfully cultivated the arts of peace and appropriated to the uses of their daily lives the wondrous conveniences of their own inventions, that it would be difficult to-night to recognize in us the lineal descendants of the men who tracked the snows of Valley Forge with bleeding feet or humbled England's flag on Eric's surging waters. Therefore it is often asked what has become of the spirit of '76. Circumstances alter cases. Occasions make the men that they demand. In a people as yet untouched by that senility which lays its palsying hand on nations as well as individuals, and especially a people so characterized by restless energy and assertion as are the people of these United States, there dwelleth a power and an energy, which, once aroused by an urgent occasion, would burst into a flame which would warm and dazzle the universal world. More than a century has passed since our forefathers of the buff and blue suffered and bled for the right of self government.

"Their bodies are dust,  
 Their good swords rust,  
 Their souls are with their God, we trust."

But there are still sentinels on the walls of Zion : and though in certain quarters it is considered the proper caper to obsequiously court imported Dukes and supercilious Lords and to ape ridiculous fashions of speech and dress, because "they are so English, you know," yet there are, in city, hamlet, town and county of this broad land, millions who believe that "American Citizen" is the



proudest title, and that under the broad ægis of liberty and equality before the law, our institutions are capable of producing the broadest development and the highest manhood. So believing, and relying upon the manifest destiny of their common country, they would defend her soil and her interests with the heroic valor of "Horatius at the Bridge," and the Spartans at the Pass. We have had some sad experiences. We have been torn with civil disorders. We have been wounded with civil war, but we are stronger and more united than ever we were before. What great nation has not had such troubles? What people, from the equator to the frozen north, have not had their revolutions? What family, their disagreements? What individual, his disorders or eruptions? Where thought is free and untrammelled there will be conflict of opinions, and it sometimes happens that great ideas are born in agony. Such travail is in time forgotten; or, if not, the memory of the parturition only serves to increase the value of the product. After long years of peace, there has lately appeared above our horizon a speck of cloud which for a time threatened to develop into a very storm of war. Thank God, it did not, but until the powers of the earth recognize and acknowledge the principle which we asserted, and will ever maintain, there will always be the possibility of war. If come it must, we shall be in the right, battling for a principle. A principle almost as important as our very existence and nearly touching our pride as Americans. That will be the occasion to arouse a spirit which may be slumbering now. Then will flame again the spirit of '76. Then,—

"North and South, together brought,  
Shall own the same electric thought,"  
Shall rally round a common flag,  
Shall shout a common battle cry,  
America for Americans.

Then, forgetting all the dissensions of the past and relying upon the valor and fidelity that has been proven on many a bloody field where they fought each other, Americans will tread together the marches once again for the rights of man.

"To teach that right is more than might,  
And justice more than mail."

We are told that history repeats itself. There were Tories in

'76 and there may again be recreant sons to follow their example. Pecuniary interests and commercial combinations may stand, like a lion in the path, seeking to intimidate and control our representatives and ministers of war, but should manipulators in stocks and bonds seek to obstruct or cripple the Government in the assertion of a vital principle, we must take a lesson from the great Nazarine, who scourged the money changers from the Temple. It cannot be that a vital spirit like that of '76 can ever die. Sooner will it reach with its infection far distant shores, leavening with its leaven the whole mass of humanity, until rank and privilege shall be swept away from among men by the rushing tide of man's desire for justice, liberty, equality. There are people still unacquainted with our history; there are men who never dreamed of civil liberty. To them the message must be borne, and the spirit of '76 shall be its missionary. Better that it should go as the white-winged Messenger of Peace, but go it will, even if as the eagle breasting the dark storm, the red bolt of war defying, covering and protecting the weak and the defenseless and dropping a living seed into their hearts, to grow and blossom into a magnificent tree of human progress and perfected manhood. We cannot expect that such a magnificent progress of events shall be without interruptions or vicissitudes. Reverses may come. Financial panics may endure. Yea, even the scourge of pestilence and war may leave a track of grassy mounds and blackened ruins, but the spirit which animated our forefathers and defied fate will yet survive to build again the monuments which error and misfortune may have overthrown.

## PROF. HALSEY COOLEY IVES.

### "HOW SHALL THE SPIRIT OF '76 FIND EXPRESSION IN 96?"

*Mr. Chairman:*

I feel that the members of the Committee of Arrangements displayed a due regard for the proprieties when they placed this toast at the end of the list; it is appropriate that it should come last. It naturally takes us out of the past, with its delicate, tender colors, so often born of imagination and cherished by tradi-

tion ; it takes us away from these delightful pictures, tinged by romance, and brings us down to the plain matter of fact present.

What was this spirit ?

If I were called upon to define the spirit of '76, or to express briefly that which, in my opinion, gave it strength, I would say, unity of action in the discharge of duties affecting the public welfare.

If I were called upon to indicate the birthplace of this spirit, I should be forced to turn back the pages of history to a time long before those early colonists found homes on the New England coast, or elsewhere in this great land, made ours by their struggles ; generations before our forefathers turned from their old homes and faced westward ; long before the England of their day was known, back to the tribal life of that strong, patient, Saxon people, to that mother-head of nations, where the beginnings of self government were made in the recognition of individual obligation to the general good, to that point where active service and interest in tribal affairs was demanded of, and given by, the individual ; then was born that spirit which was so strongly manifested in '76 ; that spirit which, fostered and cherished by the descendants of those early people, enabled them to plant mile-stones along the road which led toward civilization.

The pessimist often declares that the spirit of '76 no longer exists.

It seems to me we have frequent evidence that it is to-day alive, though too often misdirected. For example, two of the most serious outbreaks which have occurred within the last few years, although justly condemned by all, were still, in each case, a striking evidence of this same spirit. It was no wild mob which gathered at the base of the statue in New Orleans ; it was an organized body citizens, called together by the dominating will of the people ; a people whose neglect to discharge the duty of citizenship, whose neglect of a daily application of the spirit of '76 had so impaired the working machinery of the city government, by giving it inefficient officials, that wrong and injustice prevailed in public matters ; honest officials were intimidated and the dishonest openly worked in the interests of a colony of foreign political renegades and professional cut-throats. It seems

strange that such a state of affairs should exist in our day. The men of that sister city, at the mouth of our great river, were rudely awakened and confronted with that terror which their own neglect had made possible. Then it was that they were forced to become executioners. The men who marched from the base of a public statue to the doors of the parish prison in New Orleans were not the greatest criminals who had to do with the *mafia* affair; they were the thousands of men of that city who, through the neglect of individual duty, who, failing to exercise the spirit of their forefathers in everyday affairs, these same "good citizens"—men who would shrink from wilfully committing crime—had brought disgrace upon their city, state and country, and disturbed the peaceful relations existing between two great people; *they* were the criminals!

Again, a few years ago in our sister city, Cincinnati, this same spirit, misguided, broke forth. You all remember the state of corruption existing in the courts of that city, which led to violence. There, unlike the New Orleans affair, the leaders lost control, and loss of life and great destruction of public property followed.

It seems almost sacrilegious to use these incidents as evidence that the existence of this spirit of '76, aroused and misdirected in '96 may lead to the commission of crimes against the best interests of humanity. Wherever this spirit has caused people in our day to struggle against real or fancied wrongs, you will find that the conditions are called into existence by the failure of the large mass of intelligent people, who are rated as good citizens, to discharge the simple duties of citizenship. The people's will is obeyed, and as people act, or fail to act, in the exercise of their duty as citizens, just so their officers will give good or bad service. I have read recently or have heard someone express the following sentiment. I cannot give the words, but I express, I am sure, the idea as it came to me: "Ignorance of the duties of citizenship is a crime; a failure to discharge duties, when understood, is a greater crime; and, following this failure comes corruption of public morals and bad government."

The best citizen to-day is he who expresses the spirit of '76

in the discharge of daily duties ; is he who watches and studies the needs and requirements of his country ; first, the city, then the state, and then the general country, and in turn asks nothing as a reward but protection and justice. And until this spirit is cherished, and finds expression in this manner, the political atmosphere of local, state and general government will remain so unclean, so impure as to contaminate our whole social life.

We are taught that there are sins of commission and sins of omission. The highest honor that can be reached in our day by a descendant of those men—our ancestors—who believed in, and lived under, the influence of the spirit of '76, is attained by the expression of that same spirit in the everyday affairs of life, in this year, 1896.



# SERMON

BY THE

RT. REV. DANIEL S. TUTTLE, D.D., S.T.D.

BISHOP OF MISSOURI.

*President of the Missouri Society Sons of the Revolution.*

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BEFORE THE

STATE SOCIETY SONS OF THE REVOLUTION AND THEIR GUESTS,  
THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS, THE DAUGHTERS OF THE  
AMERICAN REVOLUTION, UNITED STATES ARMY AND  
NAVY OFFICERS, THE MISSOURI COMMANDERY  
MILITARY ORDER OF THE LOYAL LEGION.

CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL,

ST. LOUIS,

Sunday, February 23, 1896.

(PRINTED BY THE SOCIETY.)





SERMON.



*“And I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place; and they shall hang upon him all the glory of his father’s house.”—Isaiah, xlii: 23-24.*

These are words spoken of Eliakim, son of Hilkiah. Eliakim was a good man and true; the prefect in the household of King Hezekiah. He was second to the king only; as was Joseph to Pharaoh. The Lord Jehovah Himself appointed Eliakim to his place, and he was so to fill it as to be “a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah.” A good man set in high position becomes a tower of help to other men. Or, as our text quaintly puts it, he is as a strong nail or a stout peg on which others may depend, and on which they may hang their belongings. “I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place; and they shall hang upon him all the glory of his father’s house.”

Yesterday was an anniversary of the birthday of George Washington. To-day, by request of the Missouri Society of the Sons of the Revolution, I am set to speak some words of him whom all Americans delight to honor; nor Americans only, but all the world who have heard of him and know his history. We are gathered in the courts of the Lord’s House. We may not forget reverence for His Sacred Name, or fealty to His holy Commands. When thinking of Washington we are not in the way of any such forgetfulness. For he, more than any other great man of affairs was ever wont to submit, on his knees, the steps of his life and the welfare of his country to the will and wisdom of Providence, and humbly to beseech for all his aims and plans the grace and guidance of Almighty God. To recount the life of Washington and dwell on its details with the painstaking attention of affectionate gratitude is obviously impossible. Nor is there need. School boys and school girls know the facts in their minds, and keep the memory of the facts warm in their hearts. To preach a

sermon upon Washington, to marshal the arguments, to show how love and obedience to God, and love and helpfulness to men, were the sovereign principles of his life; nor is there need of this either. For his words and acts, his letters and official utterances plainly manifest throughout his loyal and steady adherence to this two-fold Whole Duty of Man.

No, I can only pick out some things to think of. Let the line of selection be indicated by our text. It is no casting of slight upon the goodness and greatness of Eliakim of old, if we venture to accommodate the application of the prophetic words to him of whom we speak to-day: "I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place; and they shall hang upon him all the glory of his father's house." Jefferson's words to Washington in 1793 are an echo of the text. They were written when the latter was debating with himself whether to follow what seemed duty and stand for a second term of the presidential office, or to yield to inclination and retire into private life. "The confidence of the whole country is centered in you. North and South will hang together if they have you to hang on."

I venture to assert that in the history of no other great nation upon earth, as in ours, have its birth and early preservation and development been so conspicuously dependent, under God, upon one man.

## I. IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

On July 2, 1775, Washington took his place as commander-in-chief at the head of the continental army. It numbered 14,500 men. They were soldiers in spirit, and soldiers in personal bravery. But they were undisciplined. If any person could raise a regiment or a company he was entitled to its command. Sturdy farmers were in the ranks looking to get back to their ploughs after a month or two of service. The militia men had left home avocations

on irregular and short enlistments. The minute men—one-fourth of the militia—were most like active and skilled experts, yet they were not disciplined soldiers. There was no commissariat. The supply of arms and ammunition was scanty. At times barrels of sand were moved about, that the men might be encouraged, believing them to be powder. The chief had no military chest. He felt no solid civil government at his back. There was little money. And no credit. Congress owned nothing; and had no power to enforce anything. The thirteen original colonies were the sovereign rulers, with their rulership cramped by poverty and weakened by dissension. Ah! with what splendid patience Washington met all the difficulties and worked his way through them. More or less of military life he had known since he was commissioned a major of militia at nineteen. No little of service had he seen in the seven years' war between France and England over their American possessions. He had experience in irregular Indian fighting. With Braddock as he had been, he knew the art and necessity of careful drill and strict discipline for large bodies of troops.

Washington set to work to bring order out of chaos; and he persevered untiringly. Soldier that he was, he soon made effective, subordination of discipline and distribution of duty. From the very first he enjoined upon the army attendance upon religious services. Rich farmer that he was, just come from the active personal management of his large Mt. Vernon estate, where more than 1,000 persons were employed and subsisted, it was his business habits and methods, his clear and quick grasp of details, and the confidence of others in his judgment and integrity, which sufficed to put the necessary supplies for camp and march and siege in decently creditable condition. Then, deeply impressed with the serious work he had entered upon, by earnest pleadings he got from the different colonies, what he knew was urgently needed, better terms of longer enlistments. Hot and resentful, the men wanted to fling themselves

against the enemy in Boston. Congress and the country, impatient, urged Washington to do so. But his far-seeing wisdom and patient firmness kept the army for eight months to the discipline of preparation, before he ventured to take the offensive. Then, by his skill, he compelled the evacuation of Boston by the British without a blow struck, or a life lost. This was success. There were shoutings of triumph. But every tide has its ebb. The disastrous battle of Long Island ensued. Washington, by a succession of wise retreats, by a masterful series of skillful movements along the Delaware, and by standing steady with almost superhuman endurance under sharp criticisms, and military adversities, and even the pangs of hunger and the pains of frost, kept his little army from annihilation, presenting the necessary front of organized resistance. Successes of this sort were far more conducive to the ultimate good of the cause than would have been brilliant encounters in the field. The character fitted to win these God gave to Washington. And nature and experience proved and polished the armor, by his surveyor's life when sixteen years of age; by his wanderings in the wilderness; by his conflict with treacherous savages; by his practiced capacity to meet emergencies; by twenty years of occupation of positions of responsibility in martial life; and by a magnificently noble patience learned and put to use under the attacks and criticism of those years. Frederick the Great was so struck with admiration of his strategic movements in these times of discouragement that he sent to Washington his portrait with the message, "From the oldest General in Europe to the greatest General in the world." Yet, ambitious generals in the field, and impatient patriots in and out of Congress joined in a cabal to remove him from the chieftaincy as being too slow and timorous. Anyone less favored and fortified than he by God and nature would, I venture to think, have been flung out. His success during the first two critical years of the war, in holding on to resistance and avoiding destruction, was magnifi-

cent leadership. Then the sky brightened. Early in 1778 France signed a treaty of commerce and alliance with us. This act helped mightily to give form and consistency to our embryo of a nation. Nothing in the world but Franklin's deep trust in Washington's wisdom and capacity, and his success in inoculating the French court with the same sort of confidence, gained that treaty. Yet, when the French allies came over for help under Count d'Estaing their leaders and the American officers found themselves at loggerheads, and nothing but Washington's personal presence and influence averted disastrous disputes. There is no time nor need to search further. I feel sure that all who read and think are ready to agree. That the army did not waste away; that dissensions did not outwork their dire results; that organized resistance was kept up; that France came to the rescue; that success in arms was finally achieved, and the infant nation was saved, were due, under Providence, to Washington: to his trust in God, his faith in the righteousness of his country's cause, and the splendid qualities of leadership with which God and nature and experience had endowed him. And the modern Eliakim shall be writ larger, and higher, and clearer than the ancient, as a "nail fastened in a sure place;" strong and true to sustain all the immense interests dependent on him.

## II. AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

The infant country was born. But there had been scarce strength for the birth. And infantile weakness was conspicuously manifest. To the helplessness of infancy was added exhaustion produced by the war. The continental paper currency, like all fiat money which has not a sound fiscal system to support it, had become well nigh valueless. A common saying of my boyhood's days referred to this fact. Of a thing of no value it was said, "It's not worth a continental."

The surrender of Cornwallis, October 19, 1781, virtually ended the war, because the British people were tired of it, and compelled Lord North's ministry to resign in March, 1782. But the definitive treaty of peace was not signed till the autumn of 1783. So for near two years Washington was obliged to keep the army in hand for whatever emergency might arise. And two very trying years they were to him and to his country.

Active war was over. The troops were expecting to be disbanded. But large arrearages of pay were due. To be sure Congress had made pledges that the dues to the soldiers should be met, and had voted half pay to the officers for life. But the army saw no steps taken to make the promises good. And even if Congress took steps it was discovered that Congress itself was only a league with facilities for recommending action to the States, but with no power to enforce it. And it was suspected that the States, in their poverty, would not tax themselves to pay. Discontent spread wide and sank deep. Inflammatory appeals were circulated. The soldiers were urged not to allow themselves to be disbanded till justice was obtained. The officers were entertaining doubts about the efficiency of the government and of all republican institutions. A guarded proposition was made to Washington that he should remain their leader. It carried with it the implication that they wanted him and needed him for a king. He shrank from the suggestion with indignation and abhorrence, and returned an answer of severe rebuke. Then he met with the officers at Newburgh, and in the meeting, after acknowledging their claims and assuring them they would not be disregarded, in a noble and forcible paper he showed how great would be the wickedness which would overturn the liberties of the country so recently secured, and plunge the inheritors thereof into fratricidal strife. The waters of patriotism, which had been clogged and diverted, again ran clear. And to the governors of the several States he issued an appeal of consummate wisdom,



that a union should be formed, that justice should be sacredly done, and that much forbearance must be shown. His general orders proclaiming the cessation of hostilities ended with, "The chaplains of the several brigades will render thanks to Almighty God for all His mercies, particularly for His overruling the wrath of man to His own glory, and causing the rage of war to cease among the nations."

In this critical biennium at the close of the war, Washington's faith in God, and love of his country, and unselfish and unwearied efforts for the common good made him a strong "nail fastened in a sure place," and upon him hung the freedom of representative government to the displacing of the prerogatives of personal rulership.

### III. IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

It would be hard to find in history another man made up of such well-balanced qualities of character, as was he whose memory we honor today. A French orator referring to him says, "Audacity destroys, genius elevates, good sense preserves and perfects." Four years after the war the good sense of Washington is put to test in another crisis of his country's existence. He was profoundly convinced that in a Union, and in a strong Union only, could a real national existence be secured, such as to afford protection to the people from foreign interference, and to beget vigor and to promote prosperity at home. He thought about it. He talked about it. He wrote about it. Who doubts, he prayed over it. When the Convention met in 1787 it was a foregone conclusion that he must be its President. Upon the four months of deliberation of that Convention we can not dwell. What difficulties must be surmounted! What clashing interests must be harmonized! What prejudices must be moderated! What forbearance must be exercised! What patience must be shown! The whole world has eulogized the splendid work wrought

by the men of that Convention in making our wonderful Constitution. Washington presided, though the technical deliberative work was mostly accomplished in committee of the whole with Mr. Gorham of Massachusetts in the chair. Into the cauldron of that four months' debate were cast thirteen separate sovereignties eternally counteracting each other. Out of it came a birth, the new birth, of a Union, a Nation, which had had no real existence before. If an incantation were sung over the seething elements, faith and love and hope and patience and patriotism gave the notes of that song. And Washington's well known opinions, and confidence in his judgment, and reverence for his integrity, and love of his person were the mightiest factors to produce the auspicious result. Then afterwards, when nine States at least, must ratify the Constitution to make it operative, it was faith in Washington and love of Washington that carried the day in face of opposition everywhere strongly manifested, and led in Virginia by the unsurpassed eloquence of Patrick Henry himself. The stout nail was there; fastened in a sure place. There was no displacement of its strength of steadiness, or its power for help. The Constitution stands for our very national life. And upon him, the Father of the Constitution, is hung all the glory of his country's house.

#### IV. AT THE HELM OF THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

A new political system was to be worked. Sparta, Greece, Rome, Switzerland, with their annals, could not much help. The ship of state was putting out into a reach of waters where no chart was furnished and no soundings had been made. Of course the pilot to be taken aboard must be Washington. It is hard for us to count the great task he had to fix the points for sailing, and to keep the craft steady to her course. His nearest counsellors, Jefferson and

Hamilton, were sturdy antagonists, crying against each other the advantages of distribution or concentration of government power. He must keep the peace between them. Wonderfully he did so. Honoring both, helped by both, moderating the counsels of both, and adopting the excellencies of each. He was at the helm eight years. Unwearied patience, unswerving constancy, unyielding hopefulness characterized his steering. Did the Pennsylvania distillers think his patience weakness? They soon learned how that patience never took its hand off of the stout staff of firmness. Did the French Revolutionists count on his soldier spirit to carry him and his country into their warlike ranks? He immediately issued his proclamation of neutrality as between France and Great Britain. Jefferson penned the proclamation, though heartily sympathizing with the French. When disturbing questions between England and the United States arose, was it thought that he longed again to fight the enemy of former years? Instead he sent John Jay over the ocean to frame a treaty with England, though in connection with its acceptance and ratification such shafts of partisan obloquy and arrows of spiteful hate were shot at Washington as amaze us to read about or think of. All such like things he did because no other consideration than personal rectitude, and his country's real welfare, and Liberty's entrenchment, had the value of an atom's weight with him.

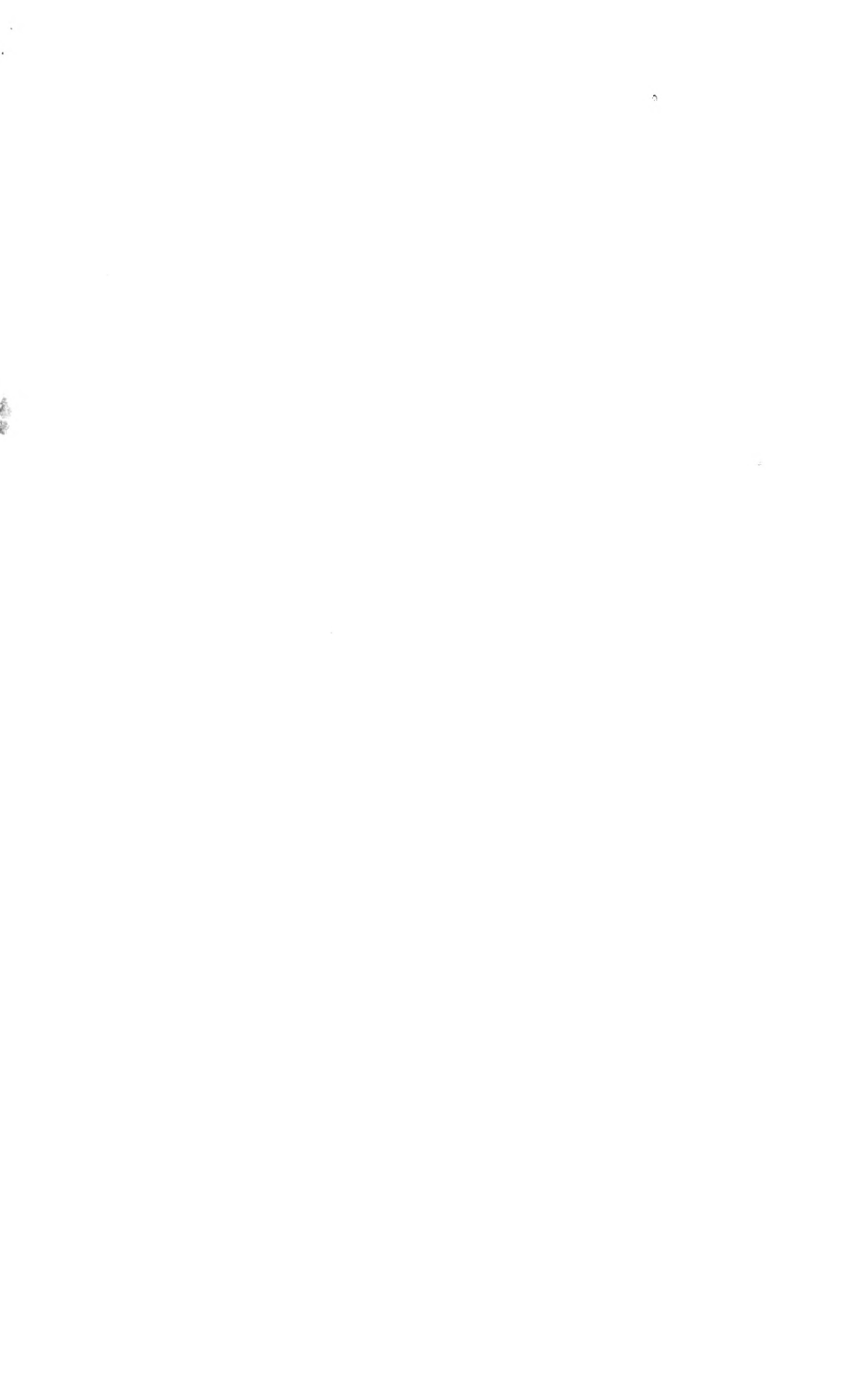
Ah! in the perilously critical period when our infant nation was learning to walk, and the new Government must needs get into working condition, thanks be to God, that there was an Eliakim provided by Him, set as a strong nail fastened in a sure place, upon whom have been hung all the succeeding glories and amazing prosperities of his country's house!

Fellow Sons of the Revolution! Brethren all! Harken no longer to me. I bring you Washington's own exhortation:—"Reverence religion; diffuse knowledge throughout your land; patronize the arts and sciences. Let Liberty and Order be inseparable

companions. Control party spirit, the bane of free governments. Observe good faith to and cultivate peace with all nations. Shut up every avenue to foreign influence. Contract rather than extend national connection. Rely on yourselves only. Be American in thought, and word, and deed."

Then come with me in thought to Mt. Vernon; which the grateful women of America have set apart to be a sacred home-temple for patriotism. Bend down. Your hero is dying. List for the last words as with difficulty they come through the inflamed and impeding throat: "I am not afraid to go." "It is well."

God help us to follow him, as he obeyed God, and believed in Christ, and loved and served his fellowmen.



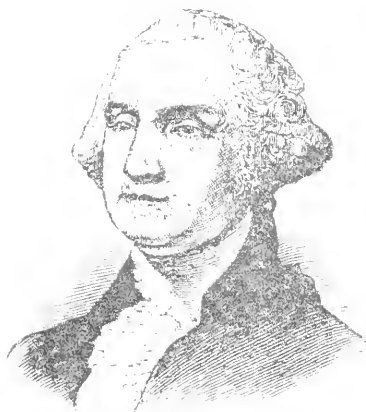




~ SERVICE ~

SUNDAY (11.00 A. M.), FEBRUARY 23d, A. D. 1896,  
COMMEMORATIVE OF THE BIRTH OF

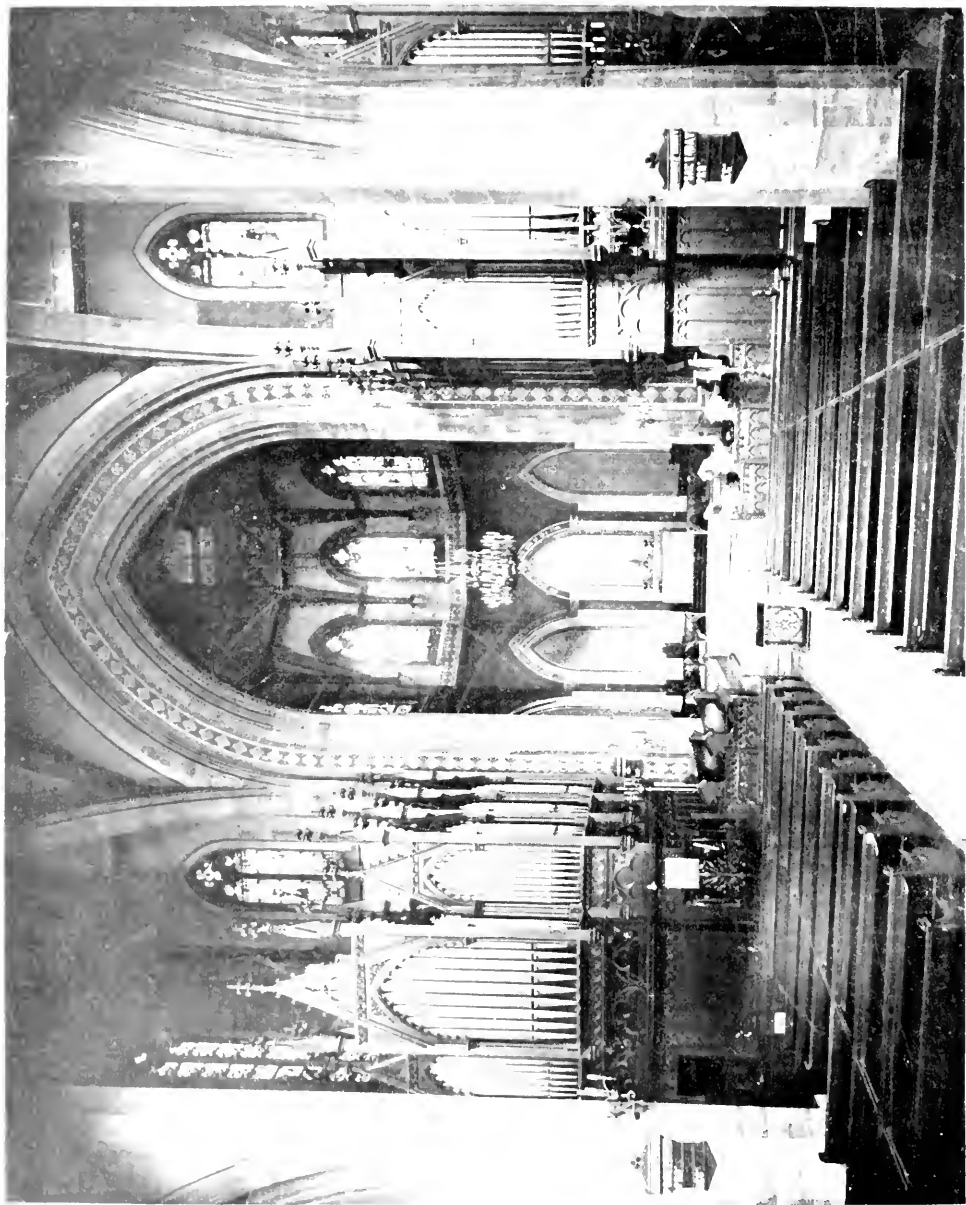
CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL,  
ST. LOUIS.  
MDCCCXCVI.











CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL,  
St. Louis.



A FORM OF PRAYER AND THANKSGIVING  
TO ALMIGHTY GOD  
FOR THE BIRTH OF

SPECIALLY PREPARED FOR

THE MISSOURI SOCIETY  
SONS OF THE REVOLUTION,


TO BE USED IN

ON

SUNDAY,  
THE TWENTY-THIRD DAY OF FEBRUARY,  
AT 11.00 O'CLOCK, A. M.,  
MDCCCXCVI.







The Service will be conducted by

RT. REV. DANIEL S. TUTTLE, S. T. D.,

Bishop of Missouri

President of the Missouri Society Sons of the Revolution,

assisted by

REV. GEORGE E. MARTIN, D. D.,

Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, St. Louis,

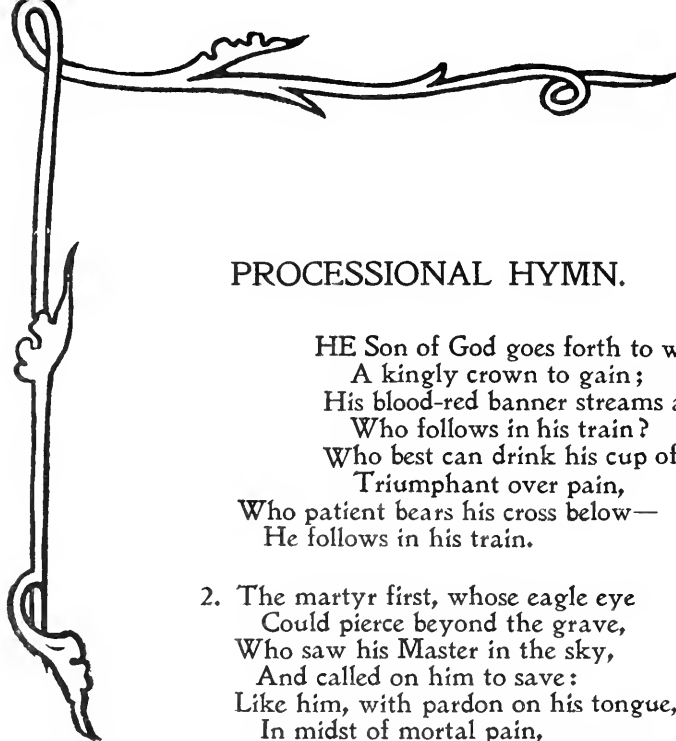
Chaplain of the Missouri Society Sons of the Revolution,

and the

DEAN AND CLERGY

of Christ Church Cathedral.





## PROCESSIONAL HYMN.

HE Son of God goes forth to war,  
A kingly crown to gain;  
His blood-red banner streams afar:  
Who follows in his train?  
Who best can drink his cup of woe,  
Triumphant over pain,  
Who patient bears his cross below—  
He follows in his train.

2. The martyr first, whose eagle eye  
Could pierce beyond the grave,  
Who saw his Master in the sky,  
And called on him to save:  
Like him, with pardon on his tongue,  
In midst of mortal pain,  
He prayed for them that did the wrong:  
Who follows in his train?
3. A glorious band, the chosen few,  
On whom the Spirit came:  
Twelve valiant saints, their hope they knew,  
And mock'd the cross and flame:  
They met the tyrant's brandish'd steel,  
The lion's gory mane;  
They bow'd their necks the death to feel:  
Who follows in their train?
4. A noble army, men and boys,  
The matron and the maid,  
Around the Saviour's throne rejoice,  
In robes of light array'd:  
They climb'd the steep ascent of heaven  
Through peril, toil and pain:  
O God! to us may grace be given  
To follow in their train!

—Bishop Reginald Heber,  
A. D. 1827.

HE Lord is in His Holy Temple : let all the earth  
keep silence before him. —*Habakkuk ii. 20.*

We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers  
have told us, what work thou didst in their days,  
in the times of old. —*Psalm xlv. 1.*

Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord; and the people  
whom he has chosen for his own inheritance. —*Psalm xxxiii. 12.*

The Lord ordereth a good man's going, and maketh his  
way acceptable to himself. —*Psalm xxxvii. 23.*

Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to  
dwell together in unity! —*Psalm cxxxiii. 1.*

PRAISE the Lord, for it is a good thing to sing  
praises unto our God; yea, a joyful and pleasant  
thing it is to be thankful.

2. The Lord doth build up Jerusalem, and  
gather together the outcasts of Israel.

3. He healeth those that are broken in heart, and giveth  
medicine to heal their sickness.

4. He telleth the number of the stars, and calleth them all  
by their names.

5. Great is our Lord, and great is his power; yea, and his  
wisdom is infinite.

6. The Lord setteth up the meek, and bringeth the ungodly down to the ground.

7. O sing unto the Lord with thanksgiving; sing praises upon the harp unto our God.

8. Who covereth the heaven with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth; and maketh the grass to grow upon the mountains, and herb for the use of men;

9. Who giveth fodder unto the cattle, and feedeth the young ravens that call upon him.

10. He hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse; neither delighteth he in any man's legs.

11. But the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy.

12. Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Zion.

13. For he hath made fast the bars of thy gates, and hath blessed thy children within thee.

14. He maketh peace in thy borders, and filleth thee with the flour of wheat.

15. He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth, and his word runneth very swiftly.

16. He giveth snow like wool, and scattereth the hoar-frost like ashes.

17. He casteth forth his ice like morsels: who is able to abide his frost?

18. He sendeth out his word, and melteth them: he bloweth with his wind, and the waters flow.

19. He showeth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and ordinances unto Israel.

20. He hath not dealt so with any nation; neither have the heathen knowledge of his laws.



LESSED be the Lord God of Israel : for he hath  
visited, and redeemed his people ;

And hath raised up a mighty salvation for us :  
in the house of his servant David ;

As he spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets : which  
have been since the world began ;

That we should be saved from our enemies : and from  
the hand of all that hate us.

To perform the mercy promised to our forefathers : and to  
remember his holy Covenant ;

To perform the oath which he sware to our forefather  
Abraham : that he would give us ;

That we being delivered out of the hand of our enemies :  
might serve him without fear ;

In holiness and righteousness before him : all the days of  
our life.

And thou, child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest :  
for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways ;

To give knowledge of salvation unto his people : for the  
remission of their sins,

Through the tender mercy of our God : whereby the day-  
spring from on high hath visited us ;

To give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the  
shadow of death : and to guide our feet in the way of peace.

BELIEVE in God the Father Almighty, Maker  
of heaven and earth :

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord :

Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of  
the Virgin Mary ; Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified,

dead, and buried: He descended into hell; The third day he rose again from the dead: He ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty: From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost: The Holy Catholic Church: The Communion of Saints: The Forgiveness of sins: The Resurrection of the body: And the Life everlasting. *Amen.*

The Lord be with you.

*Answer.* And with thy spirit.

*Minister.* Let us pray.

O Lord, show thy mercy upon us.

*Answer.* And grant us thy salvation.

*Minister.* O Lord, save the State.

*Answer.* And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

*Minister.* Endue thy Ministers with righteousness.

*Answer.* And make thy chosen people joyful.

*Minister.* O Lord, save thy people.

*Answer.* And bless thine inheritance.

*Minister.* Give peace in our time, O Lord.

*Answer.* For it is thou, Lord, only, that makest us dwell in safety.

*Minister.* O God, make clean our hearts within us.

*Answer.* And take not thy Holy Spirit from us.

GOD, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom; Defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies; that we, surely trusting in thy defence, may not fear the power of any adversaries, through the might of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

LORD, our heavenly Father, Almighty and everlasting God, who hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day; Defend us in the same with thy mighty power; and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger; but that all our doings, being ordered by thy governance, may be righteous in thy sight; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

LORD, our heavenly Father, the high and mighty Ruler of the universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold and bless thy servant the President of the United States, and all others in authority; and so replenish them with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way. Endue them plenteously with heavenly gifts; grant them in health and prosperity long to live; and finally, after this life, to attain everlasting joy and felicity; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

OST gracious God, we humbly beseech thee, as for the people of these United States in general, so especially for their Senate and Representatives in Congress assembled; That thou wouldest be pleased to direct and prosper all their consultations, to the advancement of thy glory, the good of thy Church, the safety, honour, and welfare of thy people; that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavours, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations. These and all other necessities, for them, for us, and thy whole Church, we humbly beg in the Name and Mediation of Jesus Christ, our most blessed Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

GOD, the Creator and Preserver of all mankind, we humbly beseech thee for all sorts and conditions of men; that thou wouldest be pleased to make thy ways known unto them, thy saving health unto all nations. More especially we pray for thy holy Church universal; that it may be so guided and governed by thy good Spirit, that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life. Finally, we commend to thy fatherly goodness all those who are any ways afflicted, or distressed, in mind, body, or estate; that it may please thee to comfort and relieve them, according to their several necessities; giving them patience under their sufferings, and a happy issue out of all their afflictions. And this we beg for Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*



GOD, by whom the whole world is governed and preserved, we give thee humble and hearty thanks for all thy goodness and loving kindness to us, and to all men. We thank thee for the privilege of commemorating in thy Holy Temple, with Praise and Thanksgiving, the Birth of thy servant, GEORGE WASHINGTON, whose name thou madest, throughout the world, a synonym for all that is best in human character and achievement.

We thank thee that, having endowed him with every needed qualification of mind and heart and person, thou didst especially train him for the great

work which, in thy far-seeing Providence, he was destined to perform; even the deliverance of this land from political oppression: and the founding of an Empire which now stretches from sea to sea; and which exercises a potent, and ever increasing influence upon the nations of the earth.

We thank thee that thou didst cover his head in the day of battle; and protect him from the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the sickness that destroyeth in the noonday; that no weapon formed against him was permitted to prosper; and that he was carried unscathed through innumerable dangers, to become the first Ruler of the people he had saved, and securely lay the foundations of our national Government.

We thank thee that in his Administration of our civil affairs, he set an example of wisdom, prudence, incorruptable integrity, and forgetfulness of self in his love for his country; and loyalty to his conscience and his God: And we earnestly pray that his pure example at the beginning of our national life may be faithfully followed by our people, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

THOU who turnest the hearts of the children to the fathers, and hast declared that the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, we thank thee for the inspiration which called into existence the Society of the Sons of the Revolution; and the blessing which has hitherto attended it. And we pray thee to continue to aid our Society in this, and succeeding generations, in the pious work of perpetuating the memory of the sacrifices, and sufferings, and valour of our fathers, through which our priceless heritage was won.

And finally, when we also shall have served thee in our generation, may we be gathered unto our fathers, having the testimony of a good conscience; in favor with thee our God, and in perfect charity with the world. All which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

2 Corinthians xiii. 14.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. *Amen.*



### HYMN 418.

GOD, our help in ages past,  
Our hope for years to come,  
Our shelter from the stormy blast,  
And our eternal home.

Before the hills in order stood,  
Or earth received her frame,  
From everlasting thou art God,  
To endless years the same.

A thousand ages in thy sight  
Are like an evening gone,  
Short as the watch that ends the night  
Before the rising sun.

Time, like an ever-rolling stream,  
Bears all its sons away;  
They fly forgotten, as a dream  
Dies at the opening day.

O God, our help in ages past,  
Our hope for years to come,  
Be thou our guard while troubles last,  
And our eternal home.

—*Rev. Isaac Watts,*  
*A. D. 1719.*

From the Order for the Holy Communion.

Prayer Book, page 222.

LMIGHTY God, unto whom all hearts are open,  
all desires known, and from whom no secrets are  
hid; Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the in-  
spiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly  
love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name;  
through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

“AMERICA.”

Y country! 'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee I sing;  
Land where my fathers died!  
Land of the Pilgrim's pride!  
From every mountain side  
Let freedom ring!  
My native country, thee—  
Land of the noble free—  
Thy name I love;  
I love thy rocks and rills,  
Thy woods and templed hills;  
My heart with rapture thrills  
Like that above.  
Let music swell the breeze,  
And ring from all the trees  
Sweet freedom's song;  
Let mortal tongues awake;  
Let all that breathe partake;  
Let rocks their silence break,—  
The sound prolong.  
Our father's God! to thee,  
Author of liberty,  
To thee we sing;  
Long may our land be bright  
With freedom's holy light;  
Protect us by thy might,  
Great God! our King.

—*Samuel Francis Smith,*  
*A. D. 1832.*  
*Died November 16th, 1895.*



THE SERMON,  
BY



THE OFFERTORY.

The offerings will be applied towards an endowment for the old

the site for which was selected by Washington himself, and of  
which he was Vestryman and Warden for several years.



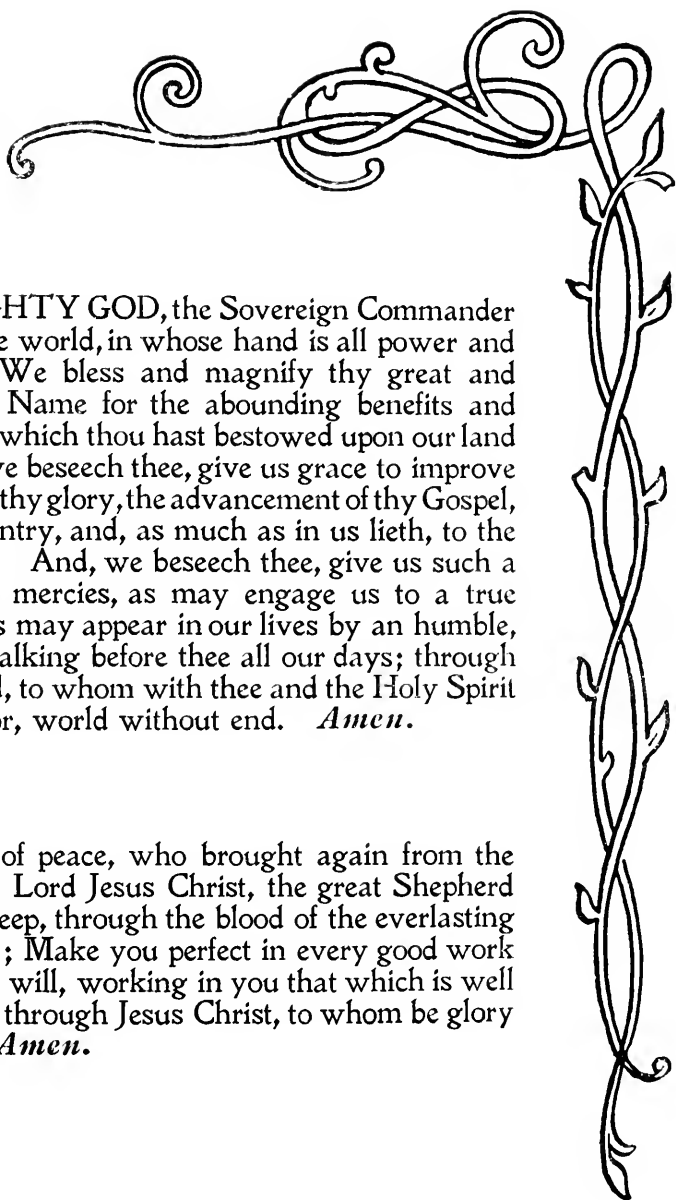
ANTHEM.

From "The Triumph of David."

—*Dudley Buck.*







ALMIGHTY GOD, the Sovereign Commander of all the world, in whose hand is all power and might; We bless and magnify thy great and glorious Name for the abounding benefits and mercies which thou hast bestowed upon our land and nation. And, we beseech thee, give us grace to improve these great mercies to thy glory, the advancement of thy Gospel, the honor of our country, and, as much as in us lieth, to the good of all mankind. And, we beseech thee, give us such a sense of these great mercies, as may engage us to a true thankfulness, such as may appear in our lives by an humble, holy, and obedient walking before thee all our days; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with thee and the Holy Spirit be all glory and honor, world without end. *Amen.*

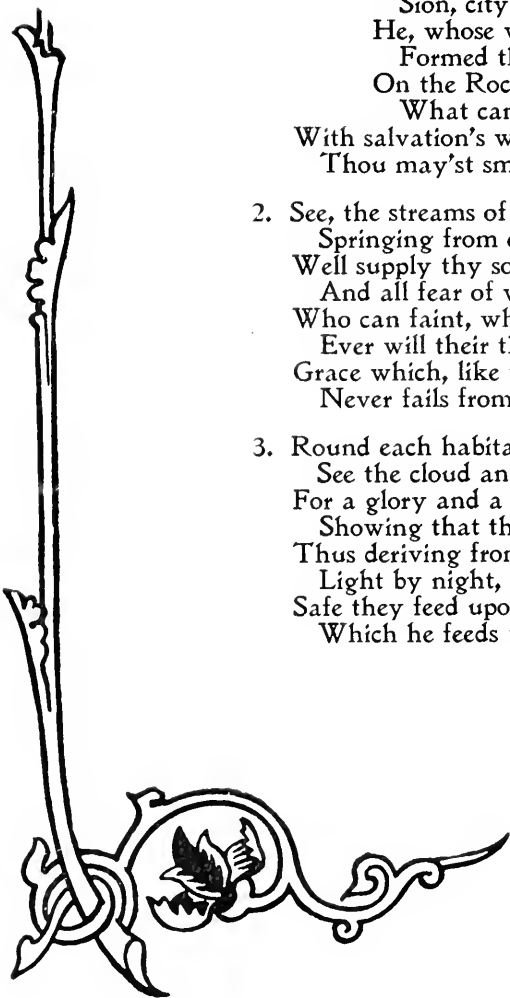
HE God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant; Make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight; through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

## RECESSIONAL HYMN.

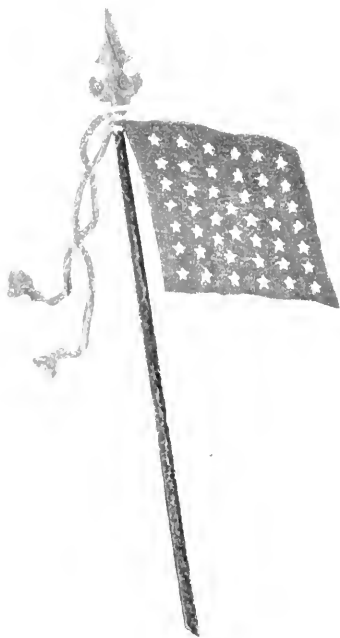
LORIOUS things of thee are spoken,  
Sion, city of our God;  
He, whose word cannot be broken,  
Formed thee for his own abode:  
On the Rock of Ages founded,  
What can shake thy sure repose?  
With salvation's walls surrounded,  
Thou may'st smile at all thy foes.

2. See, the streams of living waters  
Springing from eternal love,  
Well supply thy sons and daughters,  
And all fear of want remove.  
Who can faint, when such a river  
Ever will their thirst assuage?  
Grace which, like the Lord, the giver,  
Never fails from age to age.
3. Round each habitation hovering,  
See the cloud and fire appear  
For a glory and a covering,  
Showing that the Lord is near.  
Thus deriving from their banner,  
Light by night, and shade by day,  
Safe they feed upon the manna,  
Which he feeds them when they pray.

—Rev. John Newton,  
A. D. 1779.













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